SATAN, A PORTRAIT

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SATAN, A Portrait

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SATAN THE PUISSANT SOVEREIGN OF THE INFERNAL HOSTS

"High on a throne of royal state . . .
Satan exalted sat, by merit raised
To that bad eminence . . ."

Milton, *Paradise Lost,* Bk. ii. 1. lf. From an engraving by Gustave Doré

SATAN, A Portrait

A STUDY OF THE
CHARACTER OF SATAN THROUGH ALL THE AGES

BY

EDWARD LANGTON,
D.D., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.A.S.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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To the Professors and Students
of Handsworth College, Birmingham, 1909-1912,
to whose wise guidance and happy fellowship in the search for
Truth I owe much.

THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED IN
COMPLETE CONFORMITY WITH THE
AUTHORIZED ECONOMY STANDARDS.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	In the Old Testament	9
II	In the Rabbinical Literature	10
III	In the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature	13
IV	Sources of the Development of the Teaching concerning Satan	21
V	In the New Testament	26
VI	In the Early Christian Literature	44
VII	In Christian Literature from the Third to the Eighth Century	55
VIII	In the Scholastic Literature	65
IX	In the Monastic Literature	71
X	In the Literature of Witchcraft	75
XI	In Post-reformation Literature	85
XII	In the Literature of the Nineteenth Century	96
XIII	The Fading-out of the Conception of Satan	110
XIV	The Return of Satan	118
	Index	123

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Satan the Puissant Sovereign of the Infernal Hosts	*Frontispiece*
	FACING PAGE
Satan Smites Job with Sore Boils	16
Diabolus Cast Out of Heaven	16
Satan Descends to Paradise and Enters the Sleeping Serpent	17
Adam and Eve after the Fall	17
Satan undertakes the Voyage to Discover the World of Man	32
Satan with his Angels Lying on the Burning Lake	32
Jesus Tempted of Satan	33
The Demons Leave the Man and Enter into the Swine	33
Satan is Bound for a Thousand Years	48
The Beast with Seven Heads and Ten Horns	48
Diabolos is Overthrown	49
Satan the Inspiration of Idolatry	49
Lucifer	64
Egyptian and Assyrian Conceptions of the Devil	65
Diabolos Incites Mansoul to Arms	96
The Council of the Evil Ones	96
Satan Sows Tares among the Wheat	97
Christian's Combat with Apollyon	97
Satan The Prince of the Power of the Air	112
The Spirit of Evil Distorts the Nature of Man	113

PREFACE

The conception of Satan has loomed large in the thought of Christian people through all the centuries until recent days. To the minds of the common or unlearned people the idea of Satan has been beyond measure terrifying. It has been linked in their minds with sin in all its many forms, and with every conceivable kind of physical and moral evil. For long periods of Christian history the reign of Satan has been a reign of terror.

To the Christian scholar also, and to those who have been most responsible for the formulation of Christian teaching concerning God, man, and the world, Satan has been in a scarcely less degree a stern and insistent reality. How dominant the conception of Satan has been in the world of Christian thought is known only to the historical student. For in these days Satan has become but a shadow of his former self. The name indeed survives; mainly on account of its frequent occurrence upon the lips of Jesus. But to many eminent Christian thinkers and teachers of to-day the conception of Satan no longer represents an objective reality. It is rather an embarrassing survival from ancient modes of thought. Frequently it is altogether ignored by those who seek to set forth the main principles of Christian teaching.

The present work is not an attempt to rehabilitate the conception of Satan. The writer's aim is rather to trace the idea of Satan from its source onwards; to consider its many developments and the causes of them; to note its connection with many by-gone modes of thought, some of them the strangest vagaries that have ever found a hospitable home in the minds of men. It is hoped, however, that the evidence presented will be useful in assisting perplexed theologians and others in their attempt to estimate the amount of reality which can reasonably be held to attach to this age-long conception.

E. L.

"Glengarth,"
64, Shrewbridge Road,
Nantwich, Cheshire,
1945

CHAPTER I

In The Old Testament

THE CONCEPTION OF SATAN OCCUPIES BUT A SMALL SPACE IN THE LITERATURE of the Old Testament. As a distinct superhuman personality Satan appears in three passages only, namely, Zech. iii. 1, Job i and ii, and 1 Chron. xxi. 1. All these belong to the post-Exilic period, and are to be dated probably somewhere between 519-300 B.C.

The earliest passage is Zech. iii. 1f. It is to be noted that the term "Satan" is not yet a proper name; it is rather an epithet or descriptive title, and is used with the article—"the Satan"; that is, "the adversary". Satan is here represented as accusing Joshua the high priest before God. Not content with all the misfortunes which have come upon Jerusalem on account of her sins, Satan demands further punishment. For this harsh, unpitying attitude he is rebuked by Yahweh.

A more familiar account of Satan is given in the prologue to the Book of Job. The article is still used with the designation, which is therefore not yet a proper name. It simply means "the adversary". Much more is now said about him, and he is represented as playing an important part in the drama of the life of Job, though he remains behind the scenes. He appears among the "sons of God", that is, the angels, when they come to report concerning their activities to Yahweh. Yahweh calls "the Satan's" attention to Job his servant, " a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil". In reply, Satan insinuates that Job's piety is not of a very lofty type. It is probably only superficial and selfish. It is not disinterested; Job does not fear God for nought. God has protected and prospered him. He has bestowed all manner of blessings upon him. That is the secret of Job's piety. It pays him to be good. If God wants to find out the real nature of Job's goodness, let him plunge Job into adversity. Then, says Satan, "he will renounce thee to thy face".

God accepted the taunting challenge of Satan. He gave Job into Satan's power, to torment and test him to the uttermost, providing only that his life is spared.

The dramatist author gives the details of the testing process. Job suffered the loss of oxen and asses, of sheep and camels, of family and friends. He endured the torture of painful sickness but still he retained his loyalty and integrity, and justified God's pride in his servant.

It is important to notice that in this narrative Satan is portrayed as being one of the angel-ministers of Yahweh. He appears in Yahweh's presence in the heavenly courts, among the other angels. He comes to give an account of his activities, and to receive further commissions from God. He never acts without God's permission. He is not reprimanded by God even when he acts with the utmost rigour against Job.

There does, indeed, appear to be an element in the character of Satan which is out of harmony with the divine nature. Whereas God delights in

the perfect piety of Job, Satan is doubtful and cynical. It would give him pleasure if he could prove that God's faith in Job's piety was misplaced. Though not yet a malignant being, he is tending in that direction.

It is clear, however, that Satan is in no sense a demon, such as he was conceived to be in later days.

The third reference to Satan is found in 1 Chronicles xxi. 1. Here for the first time the name is used without the article; and thus becomes virtually a proper name. Satan is said to incite David to number the people of Israel. It should be observed that the action which by the Chronicler is laid to the charge of Satan, is, in the corresponding passage in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, traced to God Himself. It would appear that, owing to the development in the conception of God which had taken place in the meantime, the later writer (about the fourth century B.C.) shrank from attributing such an incitement to an evil action to the deity. The conception of Satan, developed still further in an evil direction, was ready to his hand, and upon his shoulders the writer placed the responsibility.

The three passages indicated above give us all the teaching concerning Satan that is to be found in the Old Testament. The word "Satan," indeed, occurs in other passages in the earlier books of the Old Testament, but only in the sense of "adversary," without any supernatural meaning. It is a pure Semitic word, derived from a root which means "to oppose," or "to be or to act as an adversary." It is used with this meaning in Numbers xxii. 22ff., where we are told that the angel placed himself in the way "for an adversary" (lit. "a Satan") against Balaam. Again, in 1 Sam. xxix. 4 the princes of the Philistines are said to have objected to the presence of David, lest in the battle he should become an adversary (lit. "a Satan") to them. A similar usage is found in 2 Sam. xix. 22; 1 Kings v. 4; xi. 14, 23. In Psalm cix. 6 the term is used of an accuser or opponent-in-law.

CHAPTER II

In The Rabbinical Literature

THE PORTRAYAL OF SATAN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT IS A STRIKING CONTRAST TO that with which we are familiar in the pages of the New Testament and in all later Christian literature. How has this change in character and function come about? To obtain an answer to the question we must search through two great collections of Jewish literature which fill in the gap that lies between the Old and the New Testaments, and to some extent overlap the period during which the New Testament was being composed. Formerly these centuries were spoken of as the "silent centuries." This was a great mistake, and it was due to Christian ignorance of Jewish literature. In fact, these centuries were exceedingly vocal. A vast amount of literary work was done by Jewish teachers during this period, and much of this has been preserved in two great collections of literature, namely, the Talmud, comprising a vast library of Rabbinical teaching; and, secondly, the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, enshrining, for the most part, the ideas and hopes of lay or unofficial

teachers. Scholars are increasingly turning to these Jewish sources for light upon some of the more difficult subjects of New Testament study. It should never be forgotten that the New Testament was, in the main, composed by Jewish Christians.

We turn first to the Rabbinical or Talmudical literature. It is true that in its present form this was not compiled until a much later date, that is, in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. It is admitted, however, that it contains a vast amount of ancient material, which during long centuries was stored up in eastern minds before being finally committed to writing. In this great repository of Jewish traditional teaching we may find hints and suggestions which will help us to understand that development in the character of Satan by which he was transformed from an angel-minister of Yahweh into a malignant evil being, the arch-foe of God and man. We shall find it more convenient to study the teaching of the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature later, as being the immediate background of the New Testament teaching.

In the Rabbinical literature two accounts are given of the origin of Satan. According to the one account, Satan was created on the sixth day, at the same time as Eve (cf. *Bereshith Rabbah* xvii). This tradition suggests that there was a connection between Satan and the fall of man, an idea that is not found in the Old Testament. The more prevalent tradition, however, is that Satan is a fallen angel. He is identified with Sammael, who is said to have been the highest throne-angel, and distinguished above the Seraphim and the "living creatures" (cf. Ezek. i. 5ff. and Rev. iv. 6ff.) by the fact that he has double their number of wings, namely, twelve. Sammael is also described as the wicked angel, chief of all the Satans (*Debarim Rabbah* xi). We thus have the idea of Satan and his angels, which appears also in the apocalyptic literature and in the New Testament.

The fall of Satan from his high estate among the angels is said to have been mainly due to jealousy and envy on the part of the angels. They had opposed the creation of man in vain. The fact that he was able to give names to all the creatures that God had made, which the angels had failed to do, proved his superiority to them. This aroused their jealousy and led them to conspire against Adam in order that by his fall they might regain their supremacy (cf. *Bereshith Rabbah* xvii). With this end in view, Sammael, first of all the angel princes, together with the company of angels that was subject to him, came down to earth, and selected the serpent as the most suitable instrument for the achievement of his purpose. The serpent is described as possessing hands and feet, and as resembling a camel. He was also endowed with the gift of speech (cf. *Bereshith Rabbah* xix). Sammael took complete possession of the serpent, just as an evil spirit takes possession of a demoniac. Thus, using the serpent as his instrument, Sammael deceived the woman, and prevailed upon her to touch the forbidden tree. In consequence of this action hostile to man, Sammael and his troop of angels were cast out of heaven, and the feet of the serpent were cut off.

The activities of Satan are said to be exceedingly numerous; but chiefly he appears as accuser, seducer and destroyer. This threefold character of Satan's activities is well illustrated in the account that is given of the testing of Abraham (cf. Gen. xxii. 1ff.). Satan first accuses Abraham of selfish piety; whereupon God decides to test the piety of Abraham by commanding him to sacrifice Isaac. Then Satan appears in the rôle of seducer: he attempts to seduce Abraham from his loyalty to God, and also to persuade Isaac to rebel

against the ordeal. Failing to achieve this, he told Sarah that Isaac had been slain. The news so terrified her that she gave up the ghost (cf. T.B. *Sanhedrin* 89b; *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* xxxii; *Targ. of Jerus,* to Gen. xxii).

Satan is also portrayed as the Angel of Death. He is represented as standing by the dying man with a drawn sword in his hand, on the point of which a drop of gall trembles. When the dying man catches sight of him he is startled, opens his mouth, swallows the drop of gall and expires (cf, *Targ. of Jerus.* to Gen. iii. 1; T.B. *Abuda Zarah* 20b). In his character as the Angel of Death Sammael caused the death of Moses (*Debarim Rabbah* xi). But Satan's power is limited in this respect. In the ancient world there were certain people against whom he could achieve nothing. Special mention is made of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses, Aaron and Miriam (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 17a). Rabbi Hisda was only overpowered by the Angel of Death when his attention was distracted from the study of the law (T.B. *Ebel Rabbathi* iii). The Angel of Death is still represented as one of the angels of God (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 86a).

In one interesting passage Satan is identified with the *Yetzer ha-Ra* or "evil impulse" in man (T.B. *Baba Bathra* 16a; cf. Gen. viii. 21). This appears to be a rationalistic attempt to account for Satan as a personification of the evil inclination in man. As a rule, however, the Talmud distinguishes between a personal Satan without, and an evil inclination within, man. It also expressly ascribes to God the creation of the *Yetzer ha-Ra* in man in the condition in which he was before the Fall. It is seriously argued that the occurrence of the two *yodhs* (the Hebrew letters יי) in the Hebrew word translated "and he formed" (Gen. ii. 7) indicates the existence of two impulses in man, the good and the evil (T.B. *Berachoth* 61a). It is also stated that the existence of this evil spirit (identified with Satan) within man is absolutely essential to the existence of the world (*Bereshith Rabbah* ix). More generally, however, the Talmud teaches that it is the existence of the evil impulse in man which furnishes Satan with his chance to work his will against man (T.B. *Sanhedrin* 64a; *Bemidbar Rabbah* xx).

In several passages in the Rabbinical writings the final destruction of Satan is foreshadowed. The destruction of the evil impulse, and of the other evil angel, that is, Satan, is anticipated (T.B. *Succah* 52a). Another passage (*Yalkut Jesaj* 359) implies that at some future time Satan will be overthrown by the Messiah. Probably the same meaning is to be attached to a passage in T.B. *Baba Bathra* 75a which states that at the time of the resurrection Gabriel will fight against Leviathan and will overcome him.

The Rabbinical speculations about Satan are interesting from several points of view. They enable us to see how Satan's character was developed in the direction of evil, and how he was brought into connection with certain incidents with which he is not connected in the Old Testament, e.g. with the serpent in the Garden of Eden, and the fall of man, and also with the testing of Abraham. Satan is called "the old serpent" or "the primeval serpent" (*Bereshith Rabbah* xxii), an epithet which appears in Rev. xx. 2 (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 3). The idea of Satan as a fallen angel, and as the chief of a class of fallen angels, frequently appears in the apocalyptic writings, and is also reflected in numerous passages in the New Testament (Rev. xii. 9; Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 12; Jude verse 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4).

CHAPTER III

In The Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature

THIS SECTION OF JEWISH LITERATURE EMBRACES SOME THIRTY WORKS WHICH were composed during the period which extends from about 200 B.C. to 100 A.D., or a little later. Within this period two classes of writings are usually distinguished, namely, the apocryphal, and the apocalyptic or pseudepigraphic. The books belonging to the former group are found in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible known as the Septuagint (or LXX), but are not included in the Hebrew Bible. These were regarded by the Jewish religious authorities as containing good orthodox teaching. They are still often found bound up in English translations of the Bible, and some of the more important books are not infrequently read in English Churches, especially the book known as *The Wisdom of Solomon*. The other group embraces a miscellaneous collection of writings, of varied character and influence which, for the most part, were written under the names of the great characters of Hebrew history, e.g., under the names of Enoch, Moses and Abraham; hence the title "Pseudepigrapha" which is often applied to them. This characteristic they share with some of the apocryphal writings. The title "apocalyptic" is appropriate to them, since so many of them purport to give revelations of the world of spirits, and of the future course of history. It should be observed, however, that the term "Apocrypha" is frequently applied to both classes of these writings.

For various reasons the writings in the apocalyptic section were looked upon with disfavour by the official Palestinian religious authorities, the Pharisees. For one thing, they were the work of unofficial teachers, and they lay but little emphasis upon those legal observances which to the Pharisees were the basis of all religion. Many of these works were exceedingly popular, and some of them, notably the various *Books of Enoch* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* exercised more influence upon the writers of the New Testament than any books in the Apocrypha. For our subject they have a special importance. It is indeed impossible to understand how Satan came to possess the characteristics assigned to him in the New Testament without a study of Jewish apocalyptic literature.

I have thought it well to ignore the distinction commonly made between these two groups of writings—the apocryphal and the apocalyptic—and to study them simply as forming a large group of Jewish non-canonical writings, which bridge the gap between the literatures of the Old and New Testaments. The distinction between them is largely arbitrary. Both contain pseudepigraphic works and apocalyptic elements, though for our purpose those usually called "apocalyptic" are the more important. The earliest of these works belong to nearly the same period as the Book of Daniel, which seems to have been the model followed by many of the apocalyptists. At the other end of the period a considerable number of these books were composed at the same time as the more important New Testament writings. A few are generally dated a little later.

In order the better to understand the development of ideas upon our subject, I shall study the writings in their chronological order so far as it is known. Unfortunately marks of time are frequently vague, and critical opinion differs considerably as to the period when they were composed.

In most of the works to be considered teaching concerning Satan is very closely interwoven with beliefs concerning the existence and origin of evil spirits in general. It is not my purpose to deal with the latter, a much larger subject, which would require a further volume. It is treated by the present writer elsewhere.[1] As we shall see, however, it is impossible to exclude the subject entirely. In this respect the apocalyptic literature is much more closely related to the New Testament than to the Old Testament. In the Old Testament evil spirits or demons are mentioned—more frequently than is commonly supposed—but they are never connected with Satan. Satan is there, as we have already seen, an angel-minister of Yahweh, and ranks with the good angels. He has access to the presence of God in heaven and does only God's bidding. In the apocalyptic literature, as in the New Testament, Satan is the chief of evil spirits or demons, and the bitter enemy of God and man. But the full character in this respect is only reached by stages which we shall now proceed to trace.

Through our acquaintance with the New Testament we are familar with the idea of one great prince of evil, called Satan or the Devil, to whom all lesser evil powers are conceived to be subordinate. In the literature of the period with which we are now dealing this conception of one supreme power of evil has not yet been attained; or, at least, it is found only in the later works which overlap the New Testament literature. During the greater part of our period we find a belief in numerous chiefs of fallen angels or demonic powers. To begin with, Satan is not prominent; but gradually he gains prestige and power, until at last he stands supreme, as in the New Testament. It should be observed, in passing, that even in the New Testament we have a reminiscence of this earlier phase of belief in the occasional reference to Beelzebul and Beliar. In this literature we have references to the following princes of evil.

(1) Semjaza and Azazel.

Numerous passages in the apocalyptic literature have much to say concerning the fall of the angels and the origin of demons. These accounts are evidently based upon the statement made in Gen. vi. 1ff. that "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose." Of these were born the Nephilim or giants. It is now generally agreed that the "sons of God," here spoken of, were angels; and that the passage is a fragment of an ancient tradition which told of the intermarriage of superhuman beings with earthly women. To such happenings there are many parallels to be found in early pagan literature. With these stories, which occupy a large place in a number of the more important works of our period, we are not here concerned, save to note that the angels on their descent to earth are said to have been led by two great chiefs, called respectively Semjaza and Azazel. The fullest account of these is given in the various parts of the *Book of Enoch* (*1 Enoch*) *which* is usually dated about 170 B.C. and later. Other chiefs are mentioned, but these two alone are prominent. Semjaza is represented in *1 Enoch* as urging the angels to go down

1 See *Good and Evil Spirits*, S.P.C.K. (1942)

to earth to marry the daughters of men. After the descent, Semjaza taught enchantments and root cuttings. Semjaza and Azazel are held to have been mainly responsible for the bloodshed and lawlessness which followed upon the descent of the angels. Semjaza and his associates were bound by the archangel Michael for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth till the time of their final judgement, when they will be cast into the abyss of fire (*1 Enoch* x. 11ff; Rev. xx. 1ff.). Soon Semjaza passes out of the picture and Azazel attains to prominence. After the descent to earth he is said to have taught men to make swords, knives, shields and breastplates, etc. (*1 Enoch* viii. 1ff.). All sin is ascribed to him. He was bound by Raphael and cast into the darkness in the desert called Dudael. There he is to abide until he shall be cast into the fire on the great day of judgement (*1 Enoch* x. 4-8).

Much else is said concerning Azazel which I need not cite here. It may, however, be well to point out in passing that there is a connection between the Azazel of *1 Enoch* and the Azazel mentioned in the account which is given of the peculiar ceremony of the Day of Atonement in Lev. xvi. The conception is quite different, however, as it is also in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* of much later date (1st century A.D.).

(2) MASTEMA.

Another demon chief spoken of in this second century B.C. is Mastema, of whom much is said in the *Book of Jubilees* (c. 135-105 B.C.). He appears sometimes to be identified with Satan. He is represented as the chief or prince of the evil spirits which sprang from the union of angels with earthly women (*Jub.* x. 5). At his own request God allowed him to retain control over one-tenth of these evil spirits, when the other nine-tenths were banished to the place of condemnation. It is said that the tenth part of the evil spirits were left that "they might be subject before Satan on the earth." In other passages the evil spirits are represented as being under the control of both Mastema and Satan.

The character of Mastema closely corresponds with that of Satan. For example, just as Satan urged God to test the piety of Job, so Mastema urged God to test the piety of Abraham. Consequently, God proved Abraham by demanding the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. xxii. 1ff.). The prince Mastema stood by watching; and when Abraham proved faithful, Mastema was put to shame (*Jub.* xviii. 9ff.).

Certain other passages show the writer's tendency to attribute to Mastema action which in the canonical writings is ascribed to God Himself. Thus it was Mastema, according to our author (xlviii. 2), who made the attack upon the life of Moses which is related in Exod. iv. 24. We have already observed the same tendency in 1 Chron. xxi. 1 as compared with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

Mastema is said to oppose Moses in Egypt, and to attempt to bring him into the hands of Pharaoh. He helped the Egyptian sorcerers to achieve their wonders, and urged the Egyptians to pursue after the Israelites (xlviii. 9ff.). When the Exodus began, Mastema was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not be able to accuse them. He was released and bound again. This binding and loosing of evil spirits is a characteristic of the apocalyptic literature, and helps to throw light upon the statement of Rev. xx. 2f., a book which belongs to the same class of literature.

It is noteworthy that in certain passages in *Jubilees* reference is made to a class of Mastema; just as a class of Satans is indicated in *1 Enoch* xl. 7. As

there is a chief Satan (*1 Enoch* liv. 6) so there is a chief or prince of the Mastema. The promise is made to Jacob that the "spirits of the Mastema" shall not rule over him or over his seed. The "powers of the Mastema" are said to have slain the first-born of Egypt (xlix. 2) Similar language is used elsewhere (cf. xlviii. 9, 12. 15f.).

As to derivation, the name comes from a Hebrew word *Mastim,* a participle of *Satam,* and means simply "one who is adverse or hostile." Thus the word has practically the same meaning as Satan (adversary). The noun "Mastema," with the meaning "animosity" or "enmity," is found in Hosea ix. 7, 8.

From these data we may conclude that Mastema is simply one of the apocalyptic names for Satan.

In the following century there is a solitary reference to Mastema in a work known as the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (xx. 2).

(3) Beliar The Satanic Spirit.

The first reference to Beliar is found in the *Book of Jubilees,* though here little is said about him. Moses is represented as praying that the spirit of Beliar may not rule over God's people to accuse them before Him (*Jub.* i. 20). Mention is also made of "the sons of Beliar" (xv. 33), an expression which occurs many times in the Old Testament (cf. Deut. xiii. 13; Judges xix. 22; 1 Sam. ii. 12).

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (109-106 B.C.) Beliar is a dominating conception. Mention is also made of Satan and the Devil, but they are not prominent. It is evident, however, that Beliar and Satan are similar, if not identical, conceptions, as we shall see if we note some of the things that are said about Beliar. He is called "the prince of deceit" (*Test. of Simeon,* ii. 7; *Test. of Jud.* xix. 4). He ruleth over the soul (*Test. of Dan* iv. 7). In the last time wicked men will cleave unto Beliar (*Test. of Iss.* vi. 1). If men do righteousness and love the Lord, every spirit of Beliar will flee from them (*Test. of Iss.* vii 7). The time will come when the Lord Himself will redeem all the captivity of the sons of Beliar (*Test. of Zeb.* ix. 8). Beliar shall be bound (*Test. of Levi* xviii. 12). He shall be cast into the fire for ever (*Test. of Jud.* xxv. 3).

The reference to the "spirits of Beliar" in some passages (e.g., *Test. of Dan* i. 7) shows that Beliar is regarded as the chief of evil spirits, as is the case also with Satan and Mastema.

In the *Sibylline Oracles,* Book iii (c. 150-120 B.C.) Beliar seems to be considered as the Antichrist (see lines 63-67; 71-74).

At a later period, in the first century A.D., Beliar reappears in the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work,* and also in the *Martyrdom of Isaiah.* In a passage in the *Fragments* (c. early 1st cent. A.D.), in a probable reference to the time of the Antichrist, it is said that during all these years Beliar shall be let loose against Israel (vi. 9). Fornication, wealth, and pollution of the sanctuary are said to be the "three nets of Beliar" (vi. 10f.). In the days of Moses and Aaron, Beliar raised up "Jochanneth and his brother with his evil device" (vii. 19). The allusion is to the two Egyptians, Jannes and Jambres, who are mentioned in 2 Tim. iii. 8 as having withstood Moses. Those who are faithless to the New Covenant shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Beliar (ix. 2). Any man who is ruled by the spirits of Beliar shall be judged (xiv. 5).

SATAN SMITES JOB WITH SORE BOILS.

(Job ii 7)

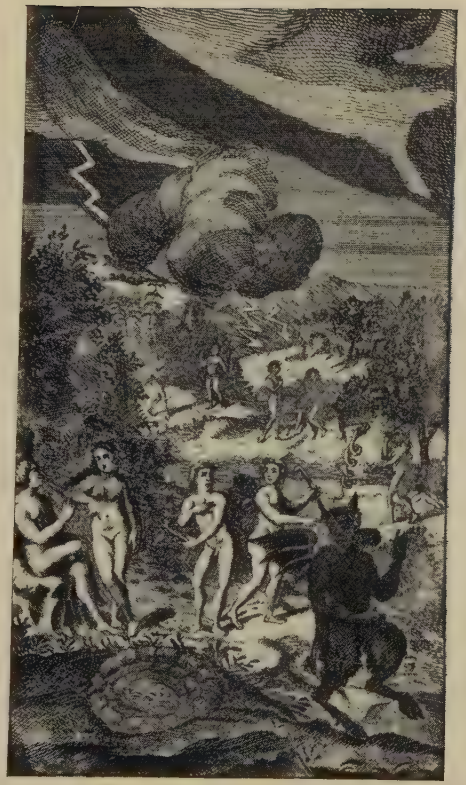
XVIIth Century Conception

See page 1

DIABOLUS CAST OUT OF HEAVEN.

From Bunyan's *Holy War*. By kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Cassell & Co., London.

See page 18



SATAN DESCENDS TO PARADISE AND ENTERS THE SERPENT WHILE ASLEEP.

From an old edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

XVIIIth Century Conception

ADAM AND EVE AFTER THE FALL. SIN AND DEATH IN THE BACKGROUND. THE GUARDIAN ANGELS ASCEND TO HEAVEN, HAVING FAILED TO PREVENT THE ENTRANCE OF SATAN.

From an old edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

XVIIIth Century Conception

In the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (c. 1-50 A.D.) references are made to three great princes of evil—Beliar, Sammael, and Satan. It is difficult to determine the precise relationship which is supposed to exist between them. Beliar is said to dwell in Manasseh (i. 8f. iii. 11). Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar, who is the angel of lawlessness (ii. 4). Similar statements are made concerning Sammael and Satan, and we can only account for these parallels by the fact that an attempt was made to combine various traditions which existed at this time concerning the operations of the powers of evil.

The etymology of the word *Beliar* is somewhat doubtful. It is another form of *Belial,* which is commonly derived from a Hebrew word which expresses the idea of "worthlessness" or "wickedness." In several Old Testament passages where the word occurs this meaning would be appropriate. It is usually associated with words like "man," "son," "daughter," "children." According to the Hebrew idiom, in such connections expressions like "sons of" denote persons who possess the quality indicated. In the Revised Version the word is usually left untranslated, but it is sometimes rendered by such expressions as "base fellows" (cf. Deut. xiii. 13). In the Old Testament "Beliar" never appears as a proper name.

The conclusion seems justified that Beliar is simply one of the apocalyptic names for the chief power of evil. It is sometimes used in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* interchangeably with Satan and the Devil.

(4) Sammael and Satanail.

These are later names, and are found in the literature of the first century A.D. We have already noted that the name Sammael appears in the Rabbinical literature as that of the highest throne-angel, or the prince of angels who, having conspired against God, led his company of angels down to earth, and there made use of the serpent as a means of accomplishing his evil designs against man.

In the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* Sammael appears along with Beliar and Satan, and we have already remarked upon the difficulty of defining the precise relationship which is conceived to exist between these three princes of evil. He is also called Sammael Melchira, the latter element of the combination appearing to be a surname. Similarly, in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (xi. 41) we find the combined name "Sammael Satan." Sammael is said to abide in Manasseh and to lead him away from God, so that he served Satan and his angels and his powers (ii. 1f.).

Sammael also appears in one of the latest books of our period, namely, *3 Baruch.* He is said to have planted the vine which led Adam astray (iv. 8), and to have made use of the serpent to bring about the fall of man (ix. 7).

In the Rabbinical literature Sammael is frequently portrayed as the angel of Death (cf. *Targ. of Jerus.* on Gen. iii. 4; T.B. *Baba Bathra* 16a; *Pirkê de R. Eliezer* xiii). In the apocalyptic literature he plays the part of Satan.

Satanail, as the name of the chief power of evil, is found only in *2 Enoch* (*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, or Slavonic Enoch*). Here it is related how certain superior angels (or Satans), under their prince Satanail, revolted against the Lord. Three of them went down to earth (xviii. 1ff.). The rest of them were imprisoned on the second heaven, whilst Satanail was imprisoned on the fifth heaven (vii. 3). Concerning this revolt of Satanail and his company of angels, God is represented as saying: "And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an

impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power. And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless" (xxix. 4).

We should note here a conflict of representation in the portrayal of Satanail, a feature which is nothing unusual in these writings. In the one passage Satanail is said to be imprisoned on the fifth heaven; in the other he is represented as flying in the air continuously. In yet another passage a different tradition finds expression. The Devil is said to be the evil spirit of "the lower places." He is described as a fugitive from heaven; but his nature, it is said, "did not change his intelligence, as far as his understanding of righteous and sinful things. And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eve, but did not touch Adam" (xxxi. 3-6).

The "lower places" here mentioned probably mean the terrestrial plane or lower regions of the air, as opposed to the higher celestial spheres, rather than subterranean places.

The idea of Satan and his angels as flying in the air appears in the New Testament (cf. Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 12), and it represents the most widely prevalent view among the Jews. It is evident that Satanail in our book is another name for Satan.

(5) Satan or the Devil the Arch-enemy of God and Man.

We shall now consider what is said in this body of Jewish literature concerning the chief power of evil under the names which are so familiar to all readers of the New Testament, namely Satan or the Devil. As in the New Testament literature, these names are used interchangeably. We have already seen that the name "Satan" is a Hebrew word which in the Old Testament, with only one exception (1 Chron. xxi. 1), is used with the article—the Satan, and means simply "the adversary." "Diabolos," from which our word "Devil" comes, is the corresponding Greek word, and the verb "diaballein" is often used in the sense of "to defame" or "to inform against." Hence the noun means "calumniator" or "slanderer." Satan or the Devil may therefore quite rightly be used as equivalent expressions for the supreme power of evil.

The first clear reference to our subject in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature is found in the *Book of Jubilees*. Here various allusions are made to Satan, as well as to Beliar and Mastema, though the latter is by far the commoner title in this work for the chief of evil spirits. It is evident that Satan and Mastema are to be identified. A tenth part of evil spirits remain under the control of Mastema that he may execute his power against man (x 8). They are also said to be subject before Satan on the earth (x. 11). It is also stated that those who participate in the Messianic kingdom shall live in peace and joy, and there shall be no Satan or evil destroyer to molest them (xxiii. 29). During Joseph's administration of Egypt, it is said, there was no Satan or evil person (xl. 9; xlvi. 2; l. 5).

The writer of *Jubilees* evidently conceives of the existence of more than one Satan, and he regards the Satans as being responsible for moral evil among men.

In several of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the names Satan and the Devil occur, although, as we have seen, Beliar is much more prominent. At times all three names appear to be used interchangeably. Concerning

Satan it is said that the spirit of wrath goes always with lying at the right hand of Satan (*Test. of Dan* iii. 6). Satan is declared to be the prince of Dan (*Test. of Dan* v. 6). Dan urges his sons to beware of Satan and his spirits (vi. 1). As to the Devil, the patriarch Naphtali assures his sons that if they do that which is good the Devil will flee from them (*Test. of Naph.* viii. 4; cf. Epis. of James iv. 7). The Devil will make him that doeth evil his own peculiar instrument (viii. 6). The spirit of hatred, it is said, worketh together with Satan (*Test. of Gad* iv. 7, v. 2). The latter ends of men show their righteousness or unrighteousness "when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan" (*Test. of Asher* vi. 4). This appears to be the first occurrence in Jewish literature of the idea, which frequently recurs in later writings, that good or evil angels meet the souls of men at death.

Passing now to the literature of the first century B.C., we find in those sections of *1 Enoch* which are usually assigned to this century an interesting reference to a class of Satans which is ruled by a chief Satan. These are held to have been responsible for the fall of the angels and for their descent to earth (*1 Enoch* xl. 7; liii. 3; liv. 6; lxix. 4). The judgement of the Deluge, it is said, comes upon the earth-dwellers because they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and "all the violences of the Satans, and all their powers" (lxv. 6). The names of five Satans are given and their functions are described. Two of them are said to have brought the angels down to earth, where they led astray the daughters of men. Another is said to have led Eve astray (lxix. 4ff.). The fifth Satan showed men how to work sorcery through the control of spirits (lxix. 12). Their activities were, however, not wholly pernicious; for certain Satans taught men the secret of wisdom and instructed them in the art of writing.

It should be observed that in this section of *1 Enoch* the Satans are represented as still having access to God's presence in heaven where, as in Job, they accuse men. It is taught that they were the instigators of the revolt of the angels, and were responsible for the fall of Eve. They are ruled by a chief of Satan (cf. xl. 7; lxix. 4; lxix. 6; liv. 6).

These chapters therefore provide a connecting-link between the teaching of the Old Testament on a number of points, namely, those relating to the fall of the angels (cf. Gen. vi. 1ff); the fall of Eve (Gen. iii. 1ff.); the temptation of Job (Job i. 6ff.), and the teaching concerning Satan in the New Testament. We can see how line after line of Satan's portrait is filled in until it is complete. The portrayal is completed in the literature of the first century A.D. which, of course, overlaps the period in which a large part of the New Testament literature was composed. This we must now consider.

We shall consider first a famous passage in the *Book of Wisdom.* The date is uncertain, but it is commonly thought to have been composed about 1-40 A.D., though some scholars place it towards the end of the previous century. The passage in question reads:

By the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that belong to his realm experience it (ii. 24).

Some authorities hold the view that the reference here is to the murder of Abel by Cain. It is pointed out that, according to Genesis, death as a physical fact entered the world with Cain, who was the first to take human life. This suits the context of our passage, which alludes to jealousy. This interpretation seems to be supported by the statement of 1 John iii. 12, since it connects

the act of Cain with the prompting of Satan. In the earliest known interpretation of the words, found in Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians* (iii), the passage is clearly applied to the murder of Abel.

The usual view, however, is that the passage refers to the fall of Eve. We have seen above that in the literature of this period Satan had by this time been brought into connection with Eve and the fall of man. The belief appears in the following passages: *1 Enoch* lxix. 6; *2 Enoch* xxxi. 6; the *Apocalypse of Abraham* ch. xxiii; the *Books of Adam and Eve*, Lat. *Vita* xvi. 4; *3 Baruch* iv. 8; ix. 7. It is found also in the Rabbinical literature, as appears from the above references to Sammael (cf. Rom. v. 12ff). Taking all these passages together, we conclude that the author of *Wisdom* had in mind the seduction of Eve by the Devil in the form of a serpent.

Satan is clearly viewed as the head of the kingdom of evil in the work known as the *Assumption of Moses*. Here it is said that God's kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation, "and then Satan shall be no more" (x. 1). This is the one solitary allusion to Satan in the book now known as the *Assumption of Moses*. It is now held, however, that originally there were two separate books which dealt with the life and death of Moses, namely, (1) *The Testament of Moses*; (2) *The Assumption of Moses*. It is the former which is now known as *The Assumption of Moses*. The latter exists only in a number of Greek fragments. These have special interest in relation to our subject, because it is now generally held that the statement made in verse 9 of the Epistle of Jude, relative to the archangel Michael's contention with the Devil, is probably based upon a passage in the lost *Assumption of Moses*. Following Dr. Charles we may reconstruct the probable order of the events as follows: (1) Michael was commissioned to bury Moses; (2) Satan opposed the burial on two grounds, namely, (a) that he himself was the lord of the material universe; and could therefore claim the body of Moses; (b) that Moses was a murderer, having slain the Egyptian; (3) Michael repelled the accusations, and charged Satan with having instigated the serpent to tempt Eve; (4) Finally, all opposition having been overcome the assumption took place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb.[1]

We have already seen that in the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* three names are applied to the chief of evil powers, viz., Beliar, Sammael, and Satan. Mention is here made of "Satan and his angels," and of the "worship of Satan" (cf. ii. 2; ii. 7).

The most vivid portrait of Satan or the Devil in this literature is found in the works known as the *Books of Adam and Eve*.[2] These are legendary accounts of the life of Adam and Eve, and are found in various recensions which will be separately indicated. We have here a story of the fall of the angels, and of the expulsion of Satan from heaven. Satan claims to be the lord of the earth and to have the right to let the ground for tillage to whom he will (Slavonic *Vita*, chs. xxxiii-xxxv). In order to deceive Eve he transforms himself into the "brightness of angels" (Lat. *Vita* ix. 1; Slav. *Vita* xxviii. 1). Eve was led astray during the absence of her two guardian angels, who had ascended to worship in the presence of God (Lat. *Vita* xxxiii. 1; cf. *Apoc. Mosis* vii). Satan likewise persuaded the serpent to become his

1 Cf. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. ii. p. 408 (1903; Ibid. *The Assumption of Moses*, pp. 105-110 (1897).

2 Composed about 80-100 A.D.

vessel in order that he might be able to speak through it and to deceive Adam (*Apoc. Mosis* xvi. lff.). He then hung himself upon the walls of paradise, appearing in form like an angel, and singing hymns like the angels. Speaking through the mouth of the serpent, he conversed with Eve, and at last persuaded her to eat of the forbidden fruit (*Apoc. Mosis* xvii-xx).

The conception of Satan now before us is in practically all ways identical with that found in the New Testament. In contrast to the Old Testament conception of Satan as the angel-minister of God, he now appears as the arch-enemy of God and man. He is indifferently called Satan and the Devil, as in the New Testament. He is directly associated with the serpent in the Garden of Eden, and he is held to be responsible for the fall of Adam and Eve. On the latter point the New Testament has little to say, but it is probably reflected in 2 Cor. xi. 3. We note that in verse 14 of the same chapter St. Paul speaks of Satan as fashioning himself into an angel of light. The same idea finds expression in the *Apoc. Mosis* xvii. 1; lat. *Vita* ix. 1; Slav. *Vita* xxxviii. 1, where it is said that Satan appeared in form as an angel. Satan also claims to be lord of the earth, a claim that accords with the representation of Satan in Luke iv. 6; John xii. 31; xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4.

CHAPTER IV

Sources of the Development of the Teaching Concerning Satan

We must now consider whether it is possible to discover the reasons for this radical transformation of the conception of Satan in the historical situation in which the Israelites were placed. At the time when the development of reaching concerning Satan, which has been outlined above, took place, the Israelites (or Jews) were in close contact with a number of peoples who were great believers in the existence and operations of evil spirits or demons. The three passages of the Old Testament in which Satan is mentioned are post-exilic. During the Exile the Jews were compelled to live in very close relationship with three great powers, viz., the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Persians, all of which had a very largely-developed belief in the existence of demonic powers. There is good reason to believe that all these in turn have made some contribution to the beliefs upon the subject which have found a permanent embodiment in the old Testament. The *Se'irim,* or hairy demons, referred to in Is. xiii, 21, and xxxiv. 14 (R.V. satyrs), and in 2 chron. xi. 15 (R.V. he-goats), are a familar Babylonian conception. Lilith, a night demon (R.V. night-monster), mentioned in Is. xxxiv. 14, is another Babylonian conception, and much is said concerning her in the Rabbinical literature. *Deber* and *Keteb,* mentioned in Ps. xci. 5 are also probably Babylonian demons; and likewise *Alukah* which appears in Proverbs xxx. 15.

Again, the *Shedim* which are said to have been worshipped by the Israelites (cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37) were undoubtedly Babylonian demons of this name.

We find, however, in Babylonian literature no conception that at all closely corresponds with that of the Jewish Satan. And it is now generally recognized that of all the peoples of the ancient world Persia is the most likely to have

influenced Jewish beliefs upon our subject. The Old Testament itself bears witness to the fact of the vital contact which was established between the Jews and Persians during the period in question. It was Cyrus, a Persian king, who delivered them from their long servitude and brought the Exile to an end (cf. Is. xliv. 28; xlv. 1ff.). During a considerable period of friendly contact with the Persians, Jewish beliefs could scarcely fail to be influenced by the pronounced beliefs of their neighbours. Persian influence in the development of later Jewish angelology is now generally admitted. It is natural therefore to suppose that Persian belief in the powers of evil may have contributed to mould that conception of Satan which we find in the Jewish writings of this period.

The most prominent feature of the Persian teaching known as Zoroastrianism is dualism. It is impossible to avoid using this term; for though the dualism is not absolute, it is very radical. The principles of good and evil are represented as being in age-long conflict. They are co-eval though not co-eternal; for a time is anticipated when the evil will be overcome and good will reign alone. This perpetual conflict between good and evil powers goes back to the very beginning of things. On the one side stands Ahura Mazda, the great Creator, with his angels and arch-angels under him. On the other side stands Angra Mainyu (later corrupted to Ahriman), with his evil spirits or demons.

The meaning of "Angra Mainyu" is probably "evil spirit," though the etymology of the first part of the compound is still rather uncertain. The character of Ahriman, however, is made sufficiently clear in the later Avestan literature. He is the personal head of a great kingdom of evil. The date of the earliest part of the Avestan literature is uncertain. Some authorities place the date of Zoroaster, its promulgator, as early as 1,000 B.C. It is agreed, however, that the teaching flourished sufficiently early as to have influenced the Jewish teaching at the time when the latter was taking shape.

The earliest statement of the doctrine of Persian dualism which has come down to us is found in *Yasna* xxx. Here it is stated that at the beginning of things there were two primeval spirits, which are also called principles or things, a better and a worse. They are represented as a pair, but each was independent of the other. These two spirits came together to make the opposing phenomena of life and its absence; that is, of Heaven and Hell. Heaven is defined as the "Best Mental State," Hell as the "Worst Life." When each had finished his part in the deeds of creation, he chose his separate realm. Ahura chose the realm of righteousness and all who belong to it; the evil spirit chose the realm of evil (*Yasna* xxx. 3-6; cf. *Yasna* xlv. 2).

The fundamental idea which finds expression in these writings is that a good God cannot be responsible for permanent evil; and that imperfection and suffering go back to the beginning of things and belong to their very nature. In the later Avesta the personality of Ahriman is more and more emphasized, as is also the idea of the independent existence of evil. The Persian mind revolted against the idea that the all-good Ahura could in any way be responsible for the existence of evil in the world. This statement applies to what we should call physical as well as moral evil. The whole universe is made to share in a very distinct cleavage between good and evil. Everything belongs to one realm or the other. So we have such pairs of opposites as light and darkness, health and sickness, pleasure and pain, life and death. Everything which may work evil in the life of man, such as

noxious creatures and poisonous plants belongs to Ahriman's kingdom of evil. It was Angra Mainyu who introduced innumerable diseases into the good creation of Ahura Mazda (*Vendidad* xxii, 2, 9, 15).

The opposition between the powers of good and evil is especially emphasized in the *Vendidad*.[1] In this work we have an interesting account of Angra Mainyu's attempt to seduce Zoroaster from his allegiance to Ahura. In some respects it may be compared with Satan's temptation of Jesus (*Vendidad* xix. 1f.). The evil one offered to bestow upon the prophet the sovereignty of the world if he would only renounce the good religion of the worshippers of Mazda. The prophet, however, resisted the temptation, and affirmed that neither for body nor life would he do the bidding of Angra Mainyu (xix 6, 7). Thereupon Angra Mainyu gathered all the demons together at *Aresûra,* the gate of Hell, where they took counsel together how they might bring about the death of Zoroaster (*Vend.* xix. 44-47).

The conflict between the hosts of good and evil is represented as raging for ages, but it is anticipated that the time will come when men will forsake evil and embrace the good. The evil-doing Angra Mainyu "bows and flees, becoming powerless" (*Yasht* xix. 12, 96).

The final triumph of the good will be introduced by a *Saoshyant* or Saviour. The texts make reference to three great souls designated *Saoshyants.* The last of these, it is said, will destroy evil and usher in the reign of righteousness. He is said to be the son of Zoroaster and will be conceived through a virgin called "the all-destroying" (*Yasht* xiii, 142; *Vend.* xix. 5).

The restoration of the world will then be accomplished. The dead will arise, and life and immortality will come (*Yasht* xix. 11f.). With the disappearance of evil from the universe, good will prevail everywhere and for all time. The coming defeat of Ahriman is especially emphasized in the literature of the Pahlavi period (3rd-9th cent. A.D.), but allowance must be made for the influence of Christian ideas upon this later literature.

What then is the relation between the Persian teaching concerning Ahriman and the teaching concerning Satan as we have seen it taking shape in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature during the period which extends from the 2nd century B.C. to the end of the 1st century A.D.? The priority of the Persian teaching must be allowed, though in its fuller form in the *Vendidad* it coincides with the Jewish teaching in the earlier part of our period. It may help us to arrive at a just conclusion if we briefly indicate the common features of the two systems of teaching.

(1) In the Rabbinical expansions of the teaching of the Old Testament, as well as in the apocalyptic literature, Satan is the acknowledged head of a host of evil spirits or angels. These are conceived to be hostile both to God and man. The malignancy of Satan is increasingly emphasized in the later apocalyptic literature. Ahriman bears the same character. He too is the head of a great host of demons (*daevas*), and every evil thing is traced to him as the originator. In the Zoroastrian system, Ahriman and his demons are set over against Ahura Mazda and his angels. So also in the Jewish system Satan and his angels are set in opposition to God and His angels.

(2) We have seen above that Satan is usually conceived of as a rebel angel who, together with a company of angels, revolted from the rule of God, and was punished by being cast out of heaven. In revenge, he plotted against

1 The date of the *Vendidad* is probably the 2nd century B.C.

man, and sought to seduce him from his allegiance to God. In the Rabbinical literature it is also said that he was created on the sixth day. In either case, he is always represented as a created being. Like all the good angels he owed his being to the creative act of God. He was not self-originated and independent of God. He has his place in the universe only by the permission of God.

In this respect there is a great contrast between Satan and Ahriman. Ahriman is portrayed as an essentially independent power. He is not said to have been created by Ahura Mazda. The texts speak of "two primeval spirits" or "principles," each independent of the other, and each sharing in the work of creation. This "dualism" is a fundamental feature of Persian thought.

We have here the main contrast between Satan and Ahriman. It has frequently been urged that this difference is a sufficient reason for denying any dependence of the Jewish upon the Persian conception. Probably this is to go too far. It may reasonably be held that the divergence is due in the main to the firm grip which the monotheistic belief had gained upon the Jewish mind before this close contact with Persian teaching took place.

(3) Satan is brought into connection with the serpent and the fall of man. Satan-Sammael is represented as having come down to earth, and as having chosen the serpent as the most suitable vehicle for the achievement of his evil designs against man.

In the Persian teaching Ahriman is also associated, or even identified, with the serpent. In chapter iii of the *Bundahesh* it is said that the evil spirit sprang from heaven in the form of a serpent and filled the world with biting poisonous creatures, so that not even space enough for a needle was left. The evil spirit proclaimed war against all Ahura Mazda's creatures (*Bund.* iii. 8, 21). The defeat of Ahriman is brought about by Ahura Mazda's descent to earth. The time will come when Ahriman will be plunged into the deepest darkness, and will finally perish in the melted metal (*Bund.* xxx. 29). Though the late date of the *Bundahesh* gives ample time for it to have been influenced by Christian teaching, it is much more probable that it is the Jewish teaching which has been derived. The later Persian books incorporate many ancient traditions.

(4) We have seen that three chief functions are assigned to Satan, namely, those of accusing, seducing and destroying. The same three functions are ascribed to Ahriman. He is the creature with the "worst mind." He attempts to seduce the followers of Ahura Mazda from their loyalty to him. He also destroys the bodies of men; just as Satan-Sammael is said to do in his character as the Angel of Death.

(5) It is affirmed that the time will come when both Satan-Sammael and Ahriman will be destroyed.

The facts set forth above show that the Jewish and Persian conceptions upon the subject of the chief power of evil have a number of common features. We have already seen that the name Satan is a native Hebrew word which signifies simply "the Adversary." There seems to be no sufficient reason to conclude that the very idea of a supernatural adversary was of foreign importation. It may quite well have been a product of native Hebrew thought.

Various references in the later Jewish literature suggest that the conception of Satan in the first instance is mainly to be accounted for as a product of Hebrew thought working upon the two main facts of the holiness of God and

of the presence of sin in man and in the world. The holiness of God was increasingly emphasized by the Hebrew prophets from the eighth century B.C. onwards. They also vividly portrayed and denounced the facts of sin and evil. These dark facts had to be accounted for somehow. And the Rabbinical teaching shows how serious-minded men grappled with the fact of the presence of an evil tendency or impulse in the life of every man. As the thought of the holiness and transcendence of God grew, it was increasingly felt that evil could not be directly due to God; even though He must ultimately be held responsible for allowing it to find a place in the universe which He had created. And at a time when belief in good and evil spirits was rampant, the idea of Satan, and of a class of Satans, would readily be suggested.

The dramatic form of the two principal passages in which Satan is first mentioned, that is, Zech. iii. 1 and Job i and ii, suggests the possibility that the character of Satan may have been a deliberate dramatisation. The idea has been put forward that originally Satan was the personification of the self-accusing conscience of Israel. The development of angelology, such as is found in Zechariah, shows that such a personification was not beyond the capacity of Hebrew thought.

Again, the tendency of human thought is to group and to unify, and thus to obtain order out of chaos. We can see this tendency working itself out in the progress of Hebrew thought from polytheism, the belief in many gods, to henotheism, the worship of one God by a particular people (while not denying the reality of other gods), and, finally, to monotheism, the belief in one supreme God, the ruler of all the earth.

Similarly, in the sphere of evil the same tendency would operate. The original conception was that of a miscellaneous mass of evil spirits, the surviving spirits of men and animals, together with the personifications of evil things, or of things which afflicted the life of man in a hurtful manner. Gradually some sort of order would be evolved through the natural tendency of human thought to group and to unify. There seems to be clear evidence of this at work in the Jewish apocalyptic literature in relation to our subject. At first there are many princes of evil powers—Azazel, Semjaza, Mastema, Beliar, and others. For centuries these are conceived to exist alongside of Satan. Their relationships to each other are not clearly defined. Sometimes there is considerable confusion. But finally Satan or the Devil (the Hebrew and Greek names respectively for the supreme power of evil) stands supreme, the arch-enemy of God and man.

It can scarcely be doubted, however, that this native tendency of Hebrew thought was considerably influenced by Persian teaching. Persian influence upon the development of later Jewish angelology is manifest and indisputable. It is exceedingly probable therefore that a similar influence would help to shape Jewish belief in the powers of evil.

CHAPTER V

In The New Testament

I SHALL NOW PRESENT THE TEACHING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN FIVE MAIN sections of this chapter, corresponding to the five chief groups of writings into which the New Testament is readily divided: (1) The Gospels; (2) The Acts of the Apostles; (3) The Pauline Epistles; (4) The Petrine, Johannine, and other Epistles; (5) The Apocalypse.

A few preliminary observations will probably be helpful to the general reader. First, it is important to observe that the belief in Satan or the Devil must be distinguished from the belief in evil spirits generally; although, of course, the two are connected. That distinction has already been observed in the preceding chapters. It is quite impossible to understand the New Testament teaching concerning evil spirits without studying very carefully the contemporary beliefs in evil spirits, particularly such beliefs as existed among the Babylonians and Assyrians. A study of these would in turn lead us back to a study of primitive conceptions as to departed spirits, ghosts, etc., among many different peoples, going back to an immemorial antiquity. This is a very large subject which has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere.[1] Here, as far as is practicable, we shall confine ourselves to the much narrower subject of the New Testament teaching concerning Satan.

Since, however, Satan in the New Testament is conceived to be the prince or lord of evil spirits, something will have to be said about the latter and the relation between the two conceptions. There is ground for reasonable complaint that the translators of the Revised Version have contributed to much confusion of thought in that they have failed to make an important distinction between the names "devil" and "demon." All Bible readers know that the Gospels have much to say concerning the strange phenomena known as demon possession; that is, possession by evil spirits. It is most unfortunate that the Revisers have everywhere translated the Greek word "demon" (*daimon* or *daimonion*) by "devil." They knew, of course, that the Greek words for "devils" and "demons" are quite different; they have indicated the difference in the margin. Most readers of the Gospels, however, read without any reference to the marginal readings which, too often, are counted a distracting nuisance. This is unfortunate; for it is well known that the true rendering is usually found in the margin rather than in the text. That is particularly so in relation to our subject. We owe so much to the Revisers that it is all the greater pity that they did not make clear an important distinction of which they were well aware. In this, as in many other respects, Moffatt's translation is a great improvement. This makes it evident that a possessed person is a person supposed to be possessed by evil spirits or demons (Gr. *daimon*, pl. *daimonia*), and not by devils or by the Devil (*diabolos*). The latter word is, in the New Testament, confined to the great chief of evil spirits who does not himself take possession of people. One or two apparent exceptions to this rule will be noticed in due course. I shall continue the New Testament usage in the following pages.

1 See *Good and Evil Spirits*, S.P.C.K. (1942)

I. The Teaching of the Gospels

A. The Synoptic Gospels

In considering the teaching of the Gospels we shall distinguish between the first three Gospels and the Fourth Gospel. These differ in their teaching upon our subject, as in many other ways.

We have seen that Satan or the Devil, whilst making sporadic appearances in the earliest apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, only becomes prominent in the later books which, in time of composition, approach very near to, or overlap, the New Testament literature. In the earlier works we have a number of other princes of evil spirits (or angels) alongside of Satan or the Devil. The allusions to these become rarer in the later works until Satan or the Devil stands supreme. In the Gospels, and also in the Pauline Epistles (2 Cor. vi. 15), we have a faint reminiscence of the earlier usage of the apocalyptic writings. For here, while Satan or the Devil is the undisputed head of the kingdom of evil, we read also of Beelzebul[1] and of Beliar.

In Mark iii. 22 (R.V.) it is stated that the scribes remarked of Jesus, "He hath Beelzebub, and By the prince of the devils (mar. demons) casteth he out the devils (mar. demons)." Jesus replied to the accusation by saying, "How can Satan cast out Satan? (verse 23), And if Satan hath risen up against himself, and is divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end" (verse 26). As here reported, the saying of the scribes leaves open the question whether "Beelzebul" and "the prince of demons" may not be two separate conceptions. But the reply of Jesus seems to show that He assumes the reference to be to Satan, the supreme head of the kingdom of evil.

This identification appears even more clearly in the account of the incident given in Luke and Matthew. In Luke xi. 15 the accusation is said to have been, "By Beelzebub the prince of the devils (mar. demons) casteth he out devils (mar. demons). The same language is used in Matt. xii. 24 (cf. Matt. ix 34; x. 25). It has been suggested that Matthew and Luke have mistakenly fused together the two clauses of Mark iii. 22, and have wrongly regarded Beelzebul as being the equivalent of the chief of demons, that is, Satan. To this, however, it may be objected that it is not clear that the two clauses of Mark have really a different significance. They may represent only two different forms of expression used on the occasion either by the same or by different people. In view of the data of the apocalyptic literature the present writer feels no doubt that Beelzebul, like Azazel, Semjaza, Mastema and Beliar, was the name given to a chief of evil spirits. Unfortunately, little light is cast upon the subject in the later Jewish literature. In the Talmud Beelzebul is regarded as a prince among demons.[2]

The original significance of the name Beelzebul is still doubtful. Despite the final letter l in the correct spelling, it is believed to be connected with the "Baal-zebub god of Ekron," to whom king Ahaziah sent messengers to inquire whether he would recover from his sickness (2 Kings i. 2f., 6, 16). It is generally agreed that this name means literally "lord of flies." It is reasonable

1 This is the correct spelling of the name: Beelzebub (with final b) has prevailed through the influence of the Latin Vulgate.

2 See the article "Demon, Demoniacs" by Oesterley, in Hasting's Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, vol. i. p. 439a.

to suppose that such a name would be applied to a god who was believed to send or to remove a plague of flies. But nothing else is known of a god of this name which discharged such a function. It would be in accordance with Semitic analogy if "Zabub" could be taken as a local designation; but in that case it would be difficult to see why he should also be described as "god of Ekron," giving another local designation. Further, we do not know how the name of an obscure local deity came to be applied to the prince of demons. It is indeed strange that a name which appears to have been quite popular in the New Testament period should be found nowhere else before this time.

The first references to Satan in the Gospels occur in the various accounts that are given of the temptation of Jesus (Mk. i. 13; Mt. iv. 1-11; Lk. iv. 2-13). Mark says that Jesus was "tempted of Satan;" Matthew and Luke say He was "tempted of the devil." We have seen that both these names were given to the great prince of evil spirits in the apocalyptic literature, and sometimes in the one work, as, for example, in the *Books of Adam and Eve.* In the Old Testament representation Satan appears chiefly as accuser in Job i. and ii., and in Zech. iii. 1, but in I Chronicles xxi. 1 he is represented as the tempter of David. In the later Jewish literature he is frequently portrayed as "the tempter." The Satans are said to lead astray the "sons of God" (angels), and to tempt Eve. Mastema (Satan) urges God to try Abraham, just as in the Book of Job Satan urges God to try Job. But the closest parallel to the New Testament conception of Satan as tempter is to be found in the *Books of Adam and Eve.* Here it is told how Satan appears to Adam, and, as lord of the earth, offers him permission to till the earth if only he will recognize Satan's overlordship. He also appears in the form and brightness of an angel and tempts Eve.

Satan also appears in the character of tempter in several passages in the Rabbinical literature.

We have remarked above upon the close correspondence which exists between the Synoptic account of the temptation of Jesus, and the account given in the Persian *Vendidad* of the temptation of Zoroaster by Angra Mainyu (the evil spirit).

It is generally admitted that the accounts of the temptation of Jesus which have been preserved by the Synoptists must ultimately have been derived from Jesus Himself. He alone knew what happened to Himself during the forty days which He spent in the wilderness with the wild beasts. It is reasonable to accept the account as being a symbolic description of a mysterious struggle that took place in the inner consciousness of Jesus early in His ministry. In Jewish literature the relations which are conceived to exist between men and beings of the spiritual world are frequently thrown into the form of dialogue and parable.

In His teaching Jesus makes many references to the activities of Satan. In the parable of the Sower, for instance, according to Mark, Jesus says that Satan cometh and "taketh away the word which hath been sown in them" (iv. 15). Luke says, "then cometh the devil" (viii. 12), and Matthew reads, "then cometh the evil one" (xiii. 19). An interesting parallel to this is found in the *Book of Jubilees* where it is related how prince Mastema (Satan) sent ravens and other birds to devour the seed which had been sown (xi. 11f.). The operations of a malicious evil power are also indicated in the parable of the tares (Mt. xiii. 24-30). The enemy that sowed the tares is said to be "the devil" (xiii. 39).

Outside the parables we have the saying of Jesus to Simon Peter, "Simon, Simon, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Lk. xxii. 31). In Luke xiii. 11ff. we are told of a woman who had "a spirit of infirmity eighteen years." Her condition is attributed to the fact that she had been "bound" by Satan (verse 16). The expression "a spirit of infirmity" probably means "a spirit which causes infirmity." This would imply that Jesus views the condition of the woman as being due to demon possession, and Satan is regarded as the chief of evil spirits. If this be a true account of the case, it is peculiar in that it is one of the few instances in which Jesus is said to have laid hands on a demonized person.

We have a metaphorical use of the term "Satan" in the stern words which Jesus addressed to Peter: "Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men" (Mk. viii. 33; cf. Mt. xvi. 23; Mt. iv. 10.). Peter's suggestion, that the Messiah can accomplish His redeeming work without suffering and death, is viewed by Jesus as having been prompted by Satan.

Sometimes Jesus is represented as having referred to Satan as "the evil one," without using the more familiar name. With reference to the use of oaths, Jesus says, "whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one" (Mt. v. 37). Jesus also teaches His followers to pray, "deliver us from the evil one" (Mt. vi. 13). Literally, the Greek says, "of or from the evil." There is, however, no doubt that the Revisers have correctly understood the allusion to be to Satan, rather than to evil in the abstract.

An interesting passage may be noticed here, though it does not contain the words of Jesus. Alone among the Synoptists, Luke attributes the betrayal of Jesus to the fact that "Satan entered into Judas" (xxii. 3). In this respect he agrees with the writer of the Fourth Gospel (John xiii. 2, 27). Such language is an exception to the general rule, according to which the Synoptists speak of demons, and not Satan their chief, as entering into persons. There are, however, parallels to this conception in the apocalyptic literature. In the *Martyrdom of Isaiah,* e.g., it is said that "Sammael (Satan) abode in Manasseh," and also that "Beliar (Satan) dwelt in the heart of Manasseh." In the *Books of Adam and Eve* we have the very unusual idea of the Devil taking possession of a person and speaking through her lips (*Apoc. Mosis,* xvii-xxi). We may also cite the evil spirit Asmodaeus who, in the *Book of Tobit,* is represented as dwelling in the maid Sarah, though here Asmodaeus is not viewed as the chief of evil spirits, but only as a demon (cf. *Tobit* iii. 8, 17; vi. 16; viii. 3). In the Rabbinical literature, however, he assumes a more Satanic character.

Jesus is represented as saying very little upon the subject of the final destruction of Satan. The statement in Luke x. 18, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven," does not refer to the final destruction of Satan. It means rather that in the success of His disciples in the casting out of demons Jesus saw a symbol or pledge of the complete overthrow of Satan their chief.

The most direct reference in the Gospels to the final destruction of Satan is found in Matt. xxv. 41. Jesus here declares that on the day of the last judgement He will say to the wicked, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels." The idea that the spirit of evil will be destroyed by fire is a commonplace in the apocalyptic literature. Two places of punishment are indicated, the one preliminary, the

other final. The place of preliminary punishment for fallen angels is described in *1 Enoch* x. 5ff. This is probably the "abyss" to which reference is made in Luke viii. 31. Afterwards, on the great day of judgement, it is said, the fallen angels shall be cast into the fire (x. 6, 12). This judgement is declared to be "for ever." Another statement is that they shall be judged until "they are made an end of" (xix. 1). Their place of condemnation is described as "an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire" (xc. 24; cf. xviii. 11ff.; xxi. 7-10; liv. 6). A similar representation of the final doom of evil spirits as found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (cf. *Test. of Jud.* xxv. 3). The burning up of Beliar (Satan) is also anticipated in the *Sibylline Oracles* (Book iii. line 73).

It cannot be doubted that these Jewish conceptions form the background of our Lord's teaching upon the subject.

B. The Teaching of the Fourth Gospel

The teaching of the Fourth Gospel differs in a number of ways from that of the Synoptics. One notable fact is that its author has nothing to say concerning demon-possessed people. The noun "demon," together with its cognate verb, is used indeed, but only in certain accusations that are said to have been made against Jesus. For instance, it is said that the Jews accused Jesus of being possessed by a demon (vii. 20), because He had inferred that they were seeking to kill Him. The same charge is reported in viii. 48, 52, together with the assertion that He was a Samaritan, because of certain things in His teaching which seemed to them at variance with the truth (cf. x. 20). From these passages it appears that in the view of this writer demon possession was associated with various degrees of mental derangement (cf. Matt. xi. 18; Lk. vii. 33). Such ideas are still found among uncivilised peoples who regard any psychical abnormality as being due to the influence of spirits.

It should be observed that even in the Synoptic Gospels demoniacs are not generally viewed as being specially wicked people, despite the fact that the demons are sometimes called "evil spirits" and "unclean spirits" (cf. Lk. vii. 21; viii. 2; vi. 18; xi. 26), and are represented as acting under the control of Satan, the prime source of evil. Jesus pities the possessed rather than feels anger towards them. He sometimes treats them as if they were the victims of an involuntary possession. Such is the impression given by the occasional references found in the Fourth Gospel. Here "demon," and "Satan" or "the Devil," are not related to each other as they are in the Synoptics, where Satan is conceived to be the prince of evil spirits.

In a number of passages the writer makes reference to the "Devil" (*diabolos*). Thus in ch. vi. 70 Jesus is represented as saying to the twelve apostles, "one of you is a devil," with reference to Judas Iscariot, evidently implying that Judas' plot to betray Him was inspired by the Devil. The same view is expressed in ch. xiii. 2, where it is said that the Devil (Diabolos) had already put into the heart of Judas the design to betray Him. And in ch. xiii. 27 it is said, "then entered Satan into him" (cf. Lk. xxii. 3). In the Synoptics the demons, not the Devil, are usually said to enter into persons.

In ch. viii. 44 Jesus says to the hostile Jews, "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do. He was a murderer from the beginning." The latter part of the statement may refer to the murder of Abel by Cain, but more probably it reflects the Jewish belief that death

came into the world as a result of the fall, which was due to the seduction of the Devil, a view often found in the apocalyptic literature (cf. *Wisdom*, ii. 24).[1] The former part of the statement implies that the Devil is viewed as the source of moral evil (cf. 1 John iii. 8, 12).

Another notable feature of this Gospel is that Satan is spoken of as "the prince (archon) of this world" (xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11). A similar designation of Satan is found in the apocalyptic writings. In the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, Beliar who is mentioned alternatively with Satan, is said to be "the ruler of this world" (ii. 4). The same conception is found in the Rabbinical literature.[2] The idea of Satan as the prince of this world is very near to the thought of the Synoptists in the temptation narratives (cf. Mt. iv. 8f. Lk. iv. 6), although the title is not used by them. In the Pauline writings, the "god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4), and "the prince of the power of the air" (Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 12) are equivalent expressions.

C. Christ's Attitude to the Belief in Satan

In the previous pages we have traced the belief in Satan from its earliest appearance in Jewish literature. We have seen how the angel-minister of Yahweh, who was believed to oppose man's claims to a right standing before God, was gradually transformed in character until he was conceived to be the arch-enemy of God and man, having under his control a multitude of evil spirits. For a considerable time other demon chiefs stand side by side with Satan. At first Azazel and Semjaza, Mastema and Beliar are more prominent than Satan. Gradually, however, Satan or the Devil attains the pre-eminence. Such is the situation portrayed in the literature composed immediately before the Christian era, and during the time our New Testament writings were being composed.

This belief in Satan appears in most of the New Testament writings, as we shall see presently. In all the four Gospels Jesus is represented as sharing the belief. Theories of accommodation and personification, which are sometimes urged in explanation of the language of Jesus, fail to take account of all the facts of the case. It is allowed, of course, that all allusions to Satan need not be taken literally. Much of Christ's teaching was given by means of parables, and it is a mistaken exegesis which construes every detail of a parable literally. Again, without doing violence to Christ's method of teaching, it is permissible to explain His account of His temptation in the wilderness as referring to an internal spiritual conflict, and not, as was earlier supposed, as implying a visible appearance of Satan.

But after due allowance has been made for the use by Jesus of parable and metaphor it seems to the present writer that we are compelled to the conclusion that Jesus believed in Satan as the personal head of the kingdom of evil. This view has been maintained throughout all the ages of the Church. Whether or no it is accepted to-day, will depend mainly upon two considerations. In the first place, we more readily recognize to-day the necessary implications of the incarnation of Jesus. Jesus was avowedly limited in knowledge (cf. Mk. xiii. 32). It is clear that He gained information in the usual way. There are many indications that He shared the beliefs of His

1 See above, p. 19 on *Wisdom* ii. 24.

2 Cf. Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, etc., vol. ii. p. 552.

time. Without such limitations we cannot conceive how He could have been man in any real sense. On the other hand, the evidence presented in the Gospels, and in the New Testament writings generally, forces us to the conclusion that in the realm of spiritual truth Jesus is supreme. Many Christians find it difficult to believe that on such a question as that of the existence of beings in the spiritual world, Jesus could have been mistaken. It must be left to each student of the subject to form his own conclusions after giving due consideration to the two facts mentioned above.

II. Satan in the Acts of the Apostles

In the Acts of the Apostles, as in the Gospels, the terms "Satan" and "the Devil" are applied to the chief power of evil. The teaching is not elaborated. The first allusion to the subject is found in the story of Ananias and Sapphira (v. 1ff.). Peter traces the deceitfulness of these persons to the influence of Satan; "Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land?" Satan is here viewed as the instigator of falsehood and deceit, a view which is in accord with his character in the apocalyptic literature. So also Jesus speaks of Satan as "a liar, and the father of the lie" (John viii. 44). We have seen that in the Gospels Satan is not usually spoken of as taking possession of men; that function is assigned to the demons viewed as the subordinates of Satan (But see above on Lk. xxii. 3 and John xiii. 2, 27). In the few passages in which Satan is spoken of as entering into persons the idea probably differs from that which lies behind cases of demon possession. In the latter instances demons are viewed as taking forcible possession of their victims, and these are not represented as being specially wicked persons. They are pitied rather than blamed. It is otherwise with persons who are spoken of as being directly under the influence of Satan. These are morally wicked, and are held to be responsible for their condition, as in the case of Judas and Ananias.

In his address in the house of Cornelius Peter describes Jesus as one who went about "healing all that were oppressed of the devil" (x. 38). The reference is probably to the many cases of demon possession that are referred to in the Synoptics as having been healed by Jesus. In the Gospel of Mark especially Jesus is portrayed as the great exorcist. Not so much is said in the Acts about these strange afflictions, but there is quite sufficient to show that they still continued to occupy the attention of the apostles of Jesus who, in the name of Jesus, "cast out demons" (see e.g., v. 15 ff.; viii. 7; xvi. 16ff.; xix. 13ff.).

It is stated in ch. xiii. 10 that St. Paul denounced Elymas the sorcerer as being a "son of the devil." This illustrates what has been said above about the blameworthiness of those who are held to be under the direct influence of the Devil. From the earliest days sorcery has been conceived to consist essentially in traffic with evil spirits. Hence sorcerers are not merely the involuntary victims of evil spirits. On the contrary, they owe their power to injure their fellow men to a voluntary submission to the prince of evil. This can be abundantly illustrated from early as well as from medieval Christian literature.

Further, in his address before king Agrippa, Paul tells how he had been commissioned by Jesus to go to the Gentiles, and "to open their eyes, that they

SATAN UNDERTAKES THE VOYAGE TO DISCOVER THE WORLD WHEREON, ACCORDING TO REPORT, MAN HAS BEEN CREATED, AND IS APPLAUDED BY HIS COUNSELLORS.

From an old edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

XVIIIth Century Conception

See page 18

SATAN, WITH HIS ANGELS, ON THE BURNING LAKE.

From an old edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

XVIIIth Century Conception

See page 17

JESUS TEMPTED OF SATAN.

"And the Devil said unto Him, If thou art the Son of God, command this stone that it become bread."—Luke iv. 3.

XVIIth Century Conception

See page 28

THE DEMONIAC IS DELIVERED AND THE DEMONS ENTER INTO THE SWINE.

Mark v. 13.

XVIIth Century Conception

See page 27

may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God" (xxvi. 18). Satan is here viewed as the head of the kingdom of evil, and as holding in his power the Gentile world.

III. Satan in St. Paul's Epistles

Teaching about Satan occupies a very considerable place in the Epistles of St. Paul. A number of passages seem to show that he was familiar with conceptions found in the apocalyptic literature. We shall pass over a number of passages which deal only with demons or evil spirits, and confine ourselves to the apostle's conception of Satan.

In Ephes. ii. 2 St. Paul speaks of his readers as having, in their unregenerate days, "walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience." By the phrase "prince of the power of the air" the apostle means Satan. "The power of the air" is a collective expression, and is equivalent to "the spiritual powers whose dwelling is in the air." St. Paul is here moving in the realm of familiar Greek conceptions. The Greeks conceived of the departed spirits of men as possessing wings, and thus as having their abode in the air. The Pythagoreans, for example, are said to have taught that the whole air is full of souls, and that these were accounted heroes. The same idea was applied to demons generally. Plutarch speaks of them as having their home in the moon, and as coming thence to take charge of the oracles. At an earlier date Plato taught that demons come next in rank to the gods, and are denizens of the air. They are entirely transparent, and are invisible to us even at close quarters. The lower heavens are completely filled with these creatures. These Platonic conceptions were developed by other Greek and Latin writers.

If we were dealing with demonology generally, it would be necessary to study the way in which the name "demon" has completely changed its meaning; from meaning "a deity" it gradually came to be used only of evil spirits. It must suffice to point out that the idea of spirits as dwelling in the air was a familiar conception at this time, and that it explains St. Paul's allusion to "the prince of the power of the air." We have already seen traces of these conceptions in the apocalyptic literature. In *2 Enoch,* for example, it is related how Satanail (Satan), together with his angels, was thrown down from the height of heaven and flies in the air continuously (xxix. 4). In the writings of Philo much is said about these demons which dwell in the air, and Jewish belief in good and evil angels is equated with Greek belief in demons. Souls, demons, and angels, this philosopher says, are but different names for the same creatures.[1]

In Ephesians vi. 12 it is even more evident that St. Paul was familiar with these Graeco-Jewish conceptions. Here the belief in demons as peopling the air—"spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places"—is directly connected with the belief in the Devil: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness," etc.

The Greek compound word "kosmokratores" (world-rulers) is found only

1 Cf. Philo, *De Gigantibus* ii, iii, iv. Tr. Colson & Whitaker, pp. 449ff (1929).

here in the New Testament. But it occurs in Greek literature, and we have already noticed a similar conception in the apocalyptic literature. In the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (ii. 4) Beliar (= Satan) is called "the ruler of this world." The expression "prince of this world," found in the Fourth Gospel (xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11), is similar to St. Paul's, though it is used in the singular number of the one prince of evil. We may compare St. Paul's expression "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4). It was, however, the Jewish belief that all the various departments of the universe were under the control of angelic "world-rulers," which are conceived to be subordinate to the one great prince of evil. The seat of these evil "world-rulers" was conceived to be not in the heaven or heavens in which God and the good angels dwell, but rather in the lower heavens, much nearer the earth.

In the writings of St. Paul we have the only New Testament reference to Beliar (or Belial). In 2 Cor. vi. 14f. Paul asks the question, "what concord hath Christ with Belial?" We have already studied the conception as it appears in the apocalyptic literature, especially in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In this work Beliar is used interchangeably with Satan or the Devil. At this period the belief in princes of evil was still fluid, and Satan had not yet attained to undisputed pre-eminence. We read of "Beliar and his spirits," just as we read of "Satan and his spirits." Beliar, therefore, is simply one of the apocalyptic names for Satan. It is not clear, however, whether Paul is intending to refer to Satan conceived simply as the chief power of evil, or to Satan conceived as operating through the Antichrist, a conception which is probably present in the *Sibylline Oracles* (Book iii, lines 63-67).

Like the Synoptists St. Paul uses the expressions "Satan" and "the Devil" interchangeably. Many brief allusions show that he regarded Satan as the personal head of the kingdom of evil. Allowance must of course be made for the use of personification and metaphor. But even when this has been done it is manifest that to St. Paul, as to Jesus and the evangelists, Satan and his kingdom of evil powers were terrible realities.

In 1 Thess. ii. 18 Paul declares that he has been hindered by Satan from going to see his readers. It is not stated in what way this had been done. Many suggestions have been put forth. It has been supposed that Paul was referring either to his own sickness; or to the exigences of his mission; or to local troubles; or again to the fact that Jason and his associates had been bound over by the politarchs of Thessalonica to keep the peace (cf. Acts xvii. 9). So far as our subject is concerned, the main fact is that the hindering circumstance was attributed by the apostle to the operations of Satan.

In iii. 5 of 1 Thessalonians Satan appears in the familiar character of "tempter," whilst in 2 Thess. iii. 3 he is referred to as "the evil one" (cf. Mt. v. 37; Ephes. vi. 16).[1]

St. Paul warns the Corinthian Christians against a severance of marital relations lest Satan tempt them to incontinency (1 Cor. vii. 5), and in 2 Cor. ii. 11 he refers to the "devices of Satan" by which Satan secures advantage over men. Again, the apostle reminds his readers that in the prosecution of his evil designs, Satan even "fashioneth himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor. xi. 14). This is probably a reflection of what is said concerning Satan in the *Books of Adam and Eve*. Here, as we have seen above,[2] it is related how the Devil came to

1 See above, p. 29. 2 See above, p. 20.

Eve "wearing the form and brightness of an angel" and tempted her (Slav. *Vita* xxxviii. 1; Lat. *Vita* ix. 1). In the *Apocalypsis Mosis* Satan is said to take the form of a serpent as well as that of an angel (cf. chs. xvi and xvii).

In view of various traces to be found in his Epistles of St. Paul's acquaintance with Jewish Haggadoth, and with the apocalyptic literature, it is highly probable that in the statement we have cited he was reflecting current conceptions. This seems all the more probable when we note that in verse 3 of the same chapter (2 Cor. xi. 3) he speaks of the serpent beguiling Eve in his craftiness. In the third chapter of Genesis Satan is not mentioned in connection with the serpent. But in various passages in the later Jewish literature, as we have already seen, Satan and the serpent are either identified, or the one is made the vehicle of the other.

In 2 Cor. xii. 7 we have Paul's famous reference to "a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me." We shall not pass in review all the various theories which have been put forth to explain this allusion. There is a large measure of agreement that we should see in the "thorn" or "stake" in the flesh a vivid metaphor for intense physical suffering. The reference may be to attacks of either ophthalmia, malaria, or epilepsy. There are grounds for believing that St. Paul suffered in some such ways (cf. Gal. iv. 14). Whatever the trouble was, the apostle traces it to the agency of Satan, who had been permitted by God to trouble him in this way.

A few slight allusions to Satan's activities may be grouped together. St. Paul assures his readers that the God of peace will shortly "bruise Satan under their feet" (Rom. xvi. 20). The apostle apparently has in mind disturbers of the peace of the Christian community, mischief-makers, perhaps Judaistic emissaries. He regards them as having been instigated by Satan. Shortly, however, they will be restrained in their activities or banished from the fellowship of the Church.

In Ephes. iv. 27 St. Paul gives the injunction, "neither give place to the devil." This means, "Give him no scope or opportunity for action" by cherishing anger or wrath. In the apocalyptic literature such evil dispositions are frequently ascribed to the operations of Satan or other evil spirits. A similar idea finds expression in 1 Tim. v. 14, where younger widows are advised to marry, that they may give "none occasion to the adversary for reviling; for already some have turned aside after Satan." The idea is that the married state would not give the same opportunity to the Devil to work his will.

The expressions "the wiles of the devil" (Ephes. vi. 11), "the snare of the devil" (2 Tim. ii. 26), and "the condemnation of the devil" (1 Tim. iii. 6) all refer to the methods employed by Satan to seduce men from their loyalty to God (cf. 2 Cor. ii. 11), and on account of which he has fallen into condemnation.

I shall not attempt to give a full exposition of the difficult passage in which St. Paul refers to "the man of sin" or "the lawless one" (2 Thess. ii. 3-8). It must suffice to say that behind this "man of sin," whether the reference be to the Roman Empire, or to a particular Roman Emperor, the apostle conceives Satan to stand (2 Thess. ii. 9). Satan is the real source of his power. The reference appears to be to the coming of the Antichrist in accordance with current beliefs. Paul's conception of this figure is probably drawn in part from an historical character such as Caligula. Already there have been certain preliminary manifestations of the "mystery of lawlessness" (2 Thess. ii. 7). But there is one that restrains the final exhibition of the "man of sin."

Perhaps the reference here is to the reigning Roman Emperor. When the appointed time is come, Satan will have his way and the Antichrist will appear.

Two passages refer to the delivery of men to Satan. In the first of these —1 Cor. v. 1ff.—St. Paul speaks of himself, acting in conjunction with the Christian community, as having resolved to deliver a certain incestuous person unto Satan "for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (verse 5). In 1 Tim. i. 20 Hymenaeus and Alexander are included among those who are said to have made shipwreck concerning the faith. Paul declares that he has delivered these unto Satan, that they may be taught not to blaspheme. Despite a number of difficulties involved in the view, it is now generally agreed that the statements here made imply the execution of a solemn sentence of excommunication. But just what is involved in this course of action is uncertain.

Possibly Paul has in mind such a delivery of men into the power of Satan as is implied in Job. i. 12ff. Job is here represented as being surrendered to Satan, to whom is given the power to inflict upon the patriarch terrible torments. We have seen, however, that during the intervening centuries the character of Satan has been greatly developed. He has become almost an independent prince. He possesses the power to torment men in a multitude of ways. He has control over a great host of evil spirits who operate under his command (see, e.g., *1 Enoch* xv. 11; xvi. 1; *Jub.* x. 1ff.; x. 7-11). Beliar (Satan) is even called "the ruler of this world" (*Martyrdom of Isaiah* ii. 4). Similar conceptions are found in the Rabbinical literature.

A number of passages in the New Testament show that these ideas were familiar to Jesus and to the early Christians generally. In the temptation narratives Satan poses as the lord of creation. He offers to give to Jesus the kingdoms of the world in return for worship. The Fourth Gospel represents Jesus as speaking of Satan as "the prince of this world" (cf. 1 John v. 19). To St. Paul he is the "god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4). He is said to possess the power of death (Heb. ii. 14).

Such views lead to the conclusion that Paul believed that outside the fellowship of the Church a man would be exposed to the malignity of Satan to a degree that would be impossible inside that fellowship. To be delivered up to Satan would be a terrible experience. Physical as well as spiritual torment might be inflicted. St. Paul, however, does not intend that in the cases mentioned the excommunication should result in the eternal loss of the sinner. It was intended rather to lead to repentance. The sinner might in this way be "taught not to blaspheme," and his spirit might be "saved in the day of the Lord Jesus;" that is, at the Second Coming of Christ (cf. 1 Pet. i, 5, 13).

St. Paul's reference to Satan as "the god of this world" (or "age") (2 Cor. iv. 4) must be understood in the light of the contemporary Jewish belief concerning two ages (*aiones*) or world-periods, which are conceived to follow each other. This conception is very prominent in the apocalyptic literature. The present world or age is placed in sharp contrast to the world or age to come. The present world is represented as being increasingly bad. To a very large extent it is under the rule of evil spirits. In the purpose of God it is doomed one day to pass away. As that time approaches, however, Satan puts forth all his power to achieve his evil purposes against men (cf. Rev. xii. 12). This conception of two aeons, the present and the future, strongly influenced the newer hope of Judaism. It took the form ultimately of a

belief in a direct opposition between God and Satan, the prince of this world. It lies behind the references in the Old Testament prophets to a great "day of Yahweh" when the powers of evil will be judged, and the earth renewed in righteousness. One of the clearest expressions of the belief in the apocalyptic literature is found in various passages in *2 Esdras* (iv. 26f.; vi. 20; vii. 12ff.; vii. 47-50; viii. 1, 52).

In agreement with this view Paul frequently speaks of "this age," which is implicitly or explicitly contrasted with "the age to come" (cf. 1 Cor. i. 20; ii. 6ff.; iii. 18; Rom. xii. 2; Gal. i. 4, and many other passages). The Jewish conceptions indicated make clear Paul's meaning when he speaks of Satan as "the god of this age."

IV. The Teaching of Hebrews and of the Remaining Epistles

This section of the New Testament literature makes but a slight contribution to our subject. We shall again pass over a few interesting allusions to demons, and consider only what is said concerning Satan.

We will notice first the statement of the writer of Hebrews that Jesus became a sharer in flesh and blood "that through death he might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil" (ii. 14). This is the only saying in the New Testament which explicitly ascribes to Satan the power of inflicting death. Several passages in the non-canonical literature, however, throw a considerable light upon our author's meaning. We have already noticed the passage in the *Book of Wisdom* which states that "by the envy of the devil death entered into the world" (ii. 24). Whether the reference is to the seduction of Eve by the serpent, or to the murder of Abel by Cain, the power of inflicting death is ascribed to the Devil.

In the *Testament of Abraham* the "Angel of Death" is a very prominent conception. He is sent by God to fetch the soul of Abraham. In so doing he is portrayed as acting directly under the control of God, as Satan does in the book of Job. But in the Rabbinical writings Sammael, who is here the equivalent of Satan, is the Angel of Death (cf. *Bereshith Rabbah* xix; *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* xiii). This is probably the idea which finds expression in our passage.

Reminiscences of the same belief in the New Testament may be found in the saying of Jesus that the Devil was a "murderer from the beginning" (John viii. 44), and in the statement of St. Paul that death came into the world through sin (Rom. v. 12), with a reference to the fall of man, which, in the apocalyptic literature, is frequently connected with Satan. The writer of Hebrews affirms that it was the purpose of Jesus, through His incarnation, to bring Satan, the death-bringer, to nought.

The writer of the Epistle of James gives the injunction, "Be subject therefore unto God; but resist the devil, and he will flee from you" (iv. 7). The reference to Scripture in the immediate context, as well as the form in which the precepts are given, suggests that the writer is here citing a number of familiar sayings. It is interesting to observe that we have a very similar injunction in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a work which we know was very widely read at this period. There is reason to believe that it was known to Jesus, and that it influenced the minds of various New Testament writers, especially St. Paul. It contains much lofty ethical teaching. In the *Test. of Simeon* (iii. 4f.) the patriarch bids his sons to beware of the spirit of

envy and deceit, for if a man flee to the Lord, he says, "the evil spirit runneth away from him." Again, the patriarch Issachar assures his sons that if they will love the Lord and all men, then the evil spirit of Beliar will flee from them (*Test. of Issachar* vii. 7). Similar language is used by the patriarchs Dan (*Test. of Dan* v. 1) and Naphtali. In the latter case the words used are "the devil will flee from them" (*Test. of Naph.* viii. 4; cf. *Test. of Benj.* v. 2). In this work, as we have seen, Beliar is another name for the spirit of evil.

In 1 Pet. v. 8 the apostle enjoins his readers to be sober and watchful, for, he says, "your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom withstand steadfast in your faith." Such language should probably not be taken literally, despite the fact that a Jewish legend relates how the Devil assumed the form of a lion, and was captured and imprisoned (cf. T.B. *Yomah* 69b; T.B. *Sanhedrin* 64a), and that many illustrations of an earlier belief that demons can assume an animal form can be cited. By this time, however, such beliefs had fallen into the background. It is more probable that the language of Peter has reference to moral characteristics. Animal qualities are frequently ascribed to human beings. The Psalmist, for example, likens his enemies to a "ravening and a roaring lion" (Ps. xxii. 13; cf. *Ecclesiasticus* xxi. 2). The apostle is probably referring to a persecution which was then raging, and which he thinks of as being instigated by the Devil (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 17).

We have already considered the conception of Satan in the Fourth Gospel. It is generally allowed that the Epistles of St. John came from the same source. Such references as we find here to the chief power of evil are in agreement with this view. The usual designation is "the evil one," though the name "Devil" is also used. To the young men, the writer says, "Ye have overcome the evil one" (1 John ii. 13f.). Though the Greek here literally reads "the evil," there is no doubt that the translators are justified in understanding the allusion to be to the supreme power of evil. Another saying is, "He that doeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. To this end was the son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil" (iii. 8). It is also stated that, "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother" (iii. 10). Reference is also made to Cain who was "of the evil one and slew his brother" (iii. 11f.). And, finally, it is said that he that was begotten of God sinneth not; "the evil one toucheth him not. We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in the evil one" (v. 18f.). The reference here is to the Jewish belief that at the present time the world is under the sway of Satan, "the prince of this world" (cf. John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11). The writer believes that Jesus has been manifested to bring the rule of Satan to an end.

V. The Teaching of the Book of Revelation

In common with the apocalyptic literature generally, the Book of Revelation contains a luxurious demonology. As the use of symbolic language is characteristic of this type of literature we may expect to find references to Satan under other than the usual names. This is, in fact, what we do find, and also a number of unusual conceptions.

We may briefly refer to the demon hosts which are described in chapter ix. under the figure of locusts. They are said to have over them as king "the

angel of the abyss" whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon and in Greek Apollyon" (ix. 11). The Hebrew word "Abaddon" is frequently used in the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament in the sense of "destruction." "Apollyon" is the Greek equivalent and means "destroyer." By the writer of this apocalypse Abaddon-Apollyon is *not* identified with Satan. He is simply described as "the angel of the abyss," and is to be compared with many other conceptions found in this type of literature, of which we have given illustrations above, such as Azazel and Semjaza. He is familiar to all readers of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in which, however, he represents the supreme power of evil, the great enemy of man.

In ch. xii. reference is made to a "great red dragon" (verse 3), which is expressly identified with Satan (verse 9). The contents of the chapter are difficult to understand, and have called forth endless discussion. This is largely due to the fact that it presents a combination of conceptions—pagan, Jewish and Christian. The passage which mainly concerns us is from verse 7 onwards. Here it is said that, "there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels going forth to war with the dragon; and the dragon warred and his angels: and they prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world: he was cast down to earth and his angels were cast down with him." The Seer then pronounces a woe upon the earth and the sea, "because the devil is gone down unto you, having a great wrath, knowing that he hath but a short time" (verse 12). The next verse relates how the dragon persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child.

The fourfold identification in verse 9 must be the starting-point of any sound exposition of the meaning of the chapter. Here the dragon is identified with the old serpent, and with the Devil and Satan. We have seen above that the terms "Devil" and "Satan" are used interchangeably of the chief power of evil in numerous passages in the apocalyptic literature, as also in the Gospels and in the New Testament writings generally. It has also been shown how the Devil or Satan has been brought into connection with the serpent of Gen. iii. 1ff. in both the apocalyptic and Rabbinical literature. The identification by the author of the Apocalypse of the serpent with Satan or the Devil therefore introduces no new element of teaching. The "great red dragon," which is here identified with Satan and the serpent, is the only conception that demands special consideration.

The conception of a great enemy of God in the form of a dragon is by no means a new one. There are many references to such a creature in the Old Testament. We read of Rahab the dragon (Is. li. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 10; Job. xxvi. 12f.); of Leviathan Job xli. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 13f.; Is. xxvii. 1); of Behemoth (Job xl. 15-24); of the dragon or sea-monster (Ps. lxxiv. 13; Ezek. xxix. 3ff.; xxxii. 2ff.) and of "the serpent" (Job xxvi. 13; Is. xxvii. 1; Amos ix. 3). The many names applied to this monster indicate a variety of traditions. In one passage especially—Is. xxvii. 1—these conceptions appear to be blended, and we read of "leviathan the swift serpent, and leviathan the crooked serpent," and "the dragon that is in the sea." It is evident therefore that the portrayal of a great enemy of God in the shape of a dragon or serpent is a very ancient one, and a few passages in the later Jewish literature show that the tradition was continued. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (xxxi) Azazel, in this work a synonym for Satan, is portrayed as a great dragon which devours the wicked. In the

Talmud (T.B. *Kiddushim* 29b) we read of a dragon with seven heads which is said to have frequented the school of Abijah.

The passages which have been cited indicate that from very early times there existed among the Hebrews the conception of a great enemy of God in the shape of a dragon. When we analyse the idea we find that in some cases it appears to be a personification of the ocean; though at other times it is conceived to dwell in the Nile. In Is. li. 9 the dragon and the primeval ocean are represented as being overcome by Yahweh, perhaps in the pre-historic period, as well at at the time of the Exodus. We may find a link between this ancient conception and that of our author in the beast which is said to come up out of the sea (Rev. xiii. 1). This beast which, like the dragon, is said to have seven heads and ten horns (cf. xii. 3 and xiii. 1) was originally none other than the dragon himself.[1] He is the chaos-monster emerging from his ancient abode and is now identified with the more recent conception of the Devil or Satan. As Charles suggests, the red colour of the dragon may be derived from the "raging" or "red gleaming" serpent which was set up in the temple of Marduk Esagil. The idea of seven heads probably came from the same source. Psalm lxxiv. 14 speaks of leviathan as having a plurality of heads. The ten horns probably came from Daniel vii. 24. It should be remembered that the Book of Daniel was the model followed by the apocalyptists generally. The difference between the number of the heads and the number of the horns is puzzling, but it may well be due to the fact that the Seer was making use of ancient material, which have not been completely harmonized.

The statement in ch. xii. 4, that the tail of the dragon "draweth the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them down to the earth," refers to the primeval war in heaven, and to the number of the angels whom the dragon persuaded to become his followers. In later Jewish literature the stars are familiar symbols for fallen angels (cf. *1 Enoch* xc. 21ff.). It may be also that we have here a reflection of Persian teaching, for in the *Bundahesh* (iii. 11, 26) it is related that the evil spirit "stood upon one third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang like a snake out of the sky down to the earth."[2] As we have seen, several passages in the apocalyptic literature tell the story of the revolt of the angels, and of the consequent casting down of the Devil and his angels from heaven to earth (cf. *2 Enoch* vii. 1ff.; xxix. 4f.; *Books of Adam and Eve,* Lat. *Vita* xii. 1ff.). This is the event referred to in ch. xii. 7 of our Apocalypse. The fact that Michael is here represented as the leader of the good angels who warred against the dragon is probably another instance of the influence of the Book of Daniel (cf. Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1). Throughout this period Michael was very prominent in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

In ch. xiii mention is made of two beasts, the one coming from the sea, the other coming from the earth. The beast coming up out of the sea is said to have ten horns and seven heads, like the dragon in ch. xii. 3. It has already been stated that this beast was originally the dragon himself. In the present chapter (verse 2) the dragon is said to give the beast his power and throne and great authority. The Seer is probably indebted to Dan. vii. 3ff., but there are many modifications. In Daniel four great beasts are said to come up from the sea. But such modifications of original conceptions, to adapt them to new historical situations, are a commonplace in literature of this type. In Rev. xvii. 7

1 Cf. Charles, *The Book of Revelation.* I.C.C. vol i. p. 31ff.

2 Cf. West, Pahlavi Texts, The *Bundahesh,* pp. 17, 19. *Sacred Books of the East,* vol v. (1880).

a beast is described as having seven heads and ten horns. The seven heads are said to be seven mountains, and also seven kings (xvii. 9). The Seer probably has in mind the Roman Empire and the various Roman Emperors; though some authorities hold the view that the reference is to seven world powers.

The second beast, described in ch. xiii. 11ff. as coming up out of the earth, is said to have "two horns like unto a lamb, and he spake as a dragon." This beast has been variously held to represent the province of Asia in its double aspect of civil and religious administration; the organization which was specially charged with the worship of the Emperor in the provinces; the heathen priesthood, and, particularly, the priestly guilds set apart for the service and maintenance of Emperor-worship. Whichever view is accepted, the main fact, so far as our subject is concerned, is that the Seer traces the power of both the sea and the land beasts to the dragon; that is, to Satan.

The activities which are attributed to Satan are very varied. There is some difficulty in interpreting a number of expressions found here on account of our ignorance of the precise conditions obtaining at that time.

In ch. ii. 9ff. the Seer is bidden to say to the "angel of the church" in Smyrna, "I know thy tribulation, and thy poverty (but thou art rich), and the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and they are not, but are a synagogue of Satan. Fear not the things which thou art about to suffer; behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried: and ye shall have tribulation ten days." There is a further allusion to "the synagogue of Satan" in ch. iii. 9.

The reference is clearly to persecution from the Jews. This is in agreement with what we learn of the situation at that time from early writers. The *Epistle of Ignatius,* for example, speaks of the intense hostility of the Jews to Christians at Smyrna (*Epis. ad Smyrna* 5). Justin Martyr also accuses the Jews of cursing in their synagogues the believers in Christ (*Dial.* xvi. 11; xlvii. 15; xcvi. 5f.). The Seer declares that such men are Jews in name only, a view which we may compare with St. Paul's statement in his Epistle to the Romans (ii. 28f.). True Jews, according to this view, are those who believed in Christ. Behind such hostile congregations of Jews our author sees the Devil at work. Through his agents he is about to cast some of their number into prison.

Pergamum is described as the place "where Satan's throne is," and as the place where "Satan dwelleth" (ii. 13). Possibly the allusion is to Pergamum as the centre in Asia Minor of serpent worship. More probably, however, the reference is to the cult of Cæsar-worship, opposition to which is one of the main features of the Book of Revelation. Pergamum was one of the chief centres of the State religion. This view is in harmony with what is said about the dragon and the two beasts.

In ch. ii. 24 the Seer commends those of Thyatira who do not know "the deep things of Satan." He has just denounced "the woman Jezebel," who was probably a local antinomian leader. She and her associates were teaching "the deep things of Satan." Some scholars would have us understand the phrase as an expression of sarcasm, and to suppose that the false teachers were actually claiming to teach "the deep things of God" (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10), but since their teachings were false the Seer brands them as being in fact "deep things of Satan." More probably, however, the phrase was actually used by the false teachers. This appears to follow from the words "as they say," which seem to indicate that the Seer is quoting their language. Otherwise, those

denounced could have retorted that they had made no such claim. Furthermore, we know that there have been those who have actually claimed to teach the "deep things of Satan" or "Satanism." Certain Gnostic sects are known to have indulged in antinomian practices, and in demon-worship. Such persons have argued that for human experience to be complete it must embrace demoniacal as well as divine mysteries.

In ch. xx an account is given of the binding, loosing, and final destruction of Satan. The apocalyptist sees an angel coming down out of heaven, holding in his hand the key of the abyss, and a great chain: "And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and cast him into the abyss, and shut it and sealed it over him, that he should deceive the nations no more, until the thousand years be finished: after this he must be loosed for a little time" (xx. 1ff.). We note here the same four-fold identification—dragon, serpent, Devil, Satan—as in ch. xii. 9. The following verses speak of the thrones of judgement, of those sitting upon them, and of the Christian martyrs who are said to reign with Christ a thousand years. This is said to be the first resurrection.

At the end of the thousand years, it is said, "Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall come forth to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to the war: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea" (xx. 7f.).

Then, by a swift transition, the Seer places himself in the far-distant future, and relates that, led by Satan, the nations from all over the earth gathered together, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and then "fire came down out of heaven, and devoured them. And the Devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever" (xx. 9f.).

By interpreters, who have been unfamiliar with the conceptions of the apocalyptic literature, these anticipations of the doom of Satan and his associates have often been treated as novel conceptions. Many and diverse interpretations have been given, and the words of the Seer have been understood with strange literalness.

We have seen above, however, that the binding of evil spirits and their chiefs is described in several passages in the apocalyptic literature. Azazel, for instance, is said to be bound in a dark place in the desert, until the day of judgement (*1 Enoch* x. 5f.). Semjaza also is bound for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth (*1 Enoch* x. 11f.). Fallen angels, symbolized as stars, are also said to be imprisoned for ten thousand years (cf. *1 Enoch* xxi. 6; cf. xviii. 16ff.). Again, in the *Book of Jubilees* nine-tenths of the evil spirits are said to have been imprisoned for an undefined period "in the place of condemnation" (x. 9ff.). In the same book Mastema who, as we have seen, in this work represents Satan, is said to have been bound and imprisoned at the time of the Exodus. He was released for a period and bound again (xlviii. 15-19). Further, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* it is said that at some future time Beliar (= Satan) shall be bound (*Test. of Levi* xviii. 12). In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* Azazel (= Satan) is assigned a place in "the inaccessible parts of the earth" until the final judgement (ch. xiv). In *2 Enoch* vii. 1ff. an account is given of a place of imprisonment for fallen angels in the second heaven.

We are therefore justified in saying that a binding of Satan for a certain

period, which varies in different writings, was a familar conception in certain Jewish circles at this time. Moreover, a similar conception is found in Zoroastrianism. Here it is stated that the evil serpent Azi-Dahâka was smitten by Thraetaona and fettered in the mountain of Damavand for 9,000 years. He was released by Ahriman, and reigned for a thousand years, and was then slain by Keresasp. After the renovation of the world, it is said, Azi-Dahâka will disappear.[1] These Persian teachings belong to various periods, both before and after the beginning of the Christian era, and there is no clear evidence that the Jewish conceptions are dependent upon the Persian.

The period of a thousand years during which Satan is said to be bound must be understood in the light of Jewish teaching concerning the duration of the Messianic kingdom. For many centuries, until about 100 B.C., it was generally believed by the Jews that the Messianic kingdom would last forever on the present earth. This view is found in many passages in the Old Testament, and in certain sections of the apocalyptic literature (cf. e.g., *1 Enoch* chs. lxxxiii-xc; and chs. l-xxxvi). About 100 B.C. a radical change of outlook appears. The idea arose that the present world was too evil to be regarded as the scene of the Messianic kingdom, except in a temporary sense. Consequently, in the later portions of *1 Enoch* (xci-civ) and in the *Psalms of Solomon* (chs. l-xvi), and generally in the *Book of Jubilees,* the Messianic kingdom is declared to be of temporary duration only. A sharp distinction is drawn, as we have already noted, between the "present age" and the "age to come." A portion in this earthly Messianic kingdom is no longer the supreme reward of the righteous. The goal set before them is now heaven, and the final judgement is now represented as taking place not at the beginning, but at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

As a rule the period of the duration of the Messianic kingdom is left undefined. In *1 Enoch* xci-civ no definite time-limits are set forth. The same is the case also in the *Psalms of Solomon,* the *Sibylline Oracles,* Book iii, the *Jubilees* and *2 Baruch.* In *2 (4) Esdras* vii. 28f., however, the Messianic kingdom is said to last 400 years. While in *2 Enoch* chs. xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2 (composed about the date A.D. 1-50) the duration is 1,000 years, just as in our Apocalypse. This is the first known reference to a Millennium (a period of 1,000 years). The calculation is evidently based upon the account given of the creation in Gen. ii. 1ff., and upon the statement of the Psalmist that each day with the Lord is as a thousand years (Ps. xc. 4).

We conclude therefore that the thousand years during which Satan is said to be bound is, in the Book of Revelation, as in *2 Enoch,* a relic of the old Jewish expectation of an eternal Messianic kingdom upon the present earth.

At the end of the thousand years, according to our Seer, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go forth to deceive the nations. "Gog" and "Magog" in the apocalyptic literature are conventional symbols for the world hostile to Israel. The statement that Satan "must be loosed for a little time" simply means that in the writer's view there is an eschatological programme to which history must conform. The future is mapped out in the apocalyptic tradition.

While Satan and his armies are besieging the holy city Jerusalem, fire comes from heaven and devours them. Then the Devil that deceived the nations is "cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast

1 See *The Sacred Books of the East,* vol. v. pp. 234f., 397. vol. xxiv. p. 103; vol. xviii. pp. 110-118.

and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever" (verse 10).

From what has been said above it will be seen that in thus portraying the final doom of Satan our writer is simply following in the general apocalyptic tradition. In various works two places of torment or punishment for Satan and his angels are mentioned, the one preliminary and the other final. They are similarly conceived except for duration. In *1 Enoch* the final doom of Azazel is to be "cast into the fire." The same place is also called "the abyss of fire" (xviii. 11; xxi. 7). In ch. liv. 6 it is described as "a burning furnace," and in xc. 24f. as an "abyss full of fire and flaming." So also in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* it is declared that Beliar (Satan) "shall be cast into the fire for ever" (*Test. of Judah* xxv. 3). The *Sibylline Oracles* (Book iii., line 73) also speak of the burning up of Beliar.

The conception of fire as the element by which Satan will be finally destroyed is a natural one. Fire is the most destructive agent known to man. Jewish thought upon the ending of evil in God's world would naturally conceive of it as being destroyed by fire (cf. Is. l. 11; lxvi. 24; Mal. iii. 2f.).

CHAPTER VI

In Early Christian Literature

IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL CONSIDER THE TEACHING UPON THE SUBJECT OF Satan which prevailed in the Christian Church for the first two and a half centuries of the Christian era or thereabouts; that is, up to and including the teaching of Origen, one of the most influential teachers in the early Church.

During the early part of this period the ideas found in the Old and New Testaments were simply continued, without much elaboration, though certain elements of teaching were drawn from the apocalyptic literature. During the later part of the period fresh ideas were introduced, linking Satan more closely with general demonology, including such vast and intricate subjects as necromancy, magic, and witchcraft. We shall note here therefore the first beginnings of that body of Christian teaching concerning the kingdom of evil which, during the Middle Ages and later, darkened the face of heaven, and was the main cause of some of the most horrible scenes of cruelty that have ever been witnessed by the eyes of men.

Up to this point, in attempting to sketch the portrait of Satan I have endeavoured, as far as was practicable, to exclude such related questions as the existence and multifarious activities of demons. It becomes more and more difficult to do this from this point onwards. For Satan increasingly appears in the character of prince or king of demons. Therefore to give any true account of the impression made by Satan upon the minds of even the most enlightened men for about fifteen centuries we must needs say something about Satan's relation to witchcraft, magic, and necromancy. This aspect of a vast subject will be limited as far as appears to be consistent with the giving of a true picture of Satan.

As was natural, there was much similarity in the teaching given concerning Satan by the different writers during these early Christian centuries. It would be exceedingly tedious to the general reader were I to attempt to give a full account of what was said upon our subject even by the most representative teachers of the Church, and still more tedious if I were to give quotations and references to chapter and verse for every statement made. I shall therefore summarise, and reduce references to a minimum. All the writings have, however, been carefully examined by the present writer and the results of the examination form the basis of the very brief account here given.

(1) We shall begin with a group of writers, which are generally known as *The Apostolic Fathers,* who flourished from about 97-160 A.D. The earliest writing of this group, the *First Epistle of Clement,* makes no contribution to our subject, and in the ancient Homily known as *2 Clement* we have only a reference to the writer as being a sinner and "still amidst the engines of the Devil.[1] The *Epistles of Ignatius* frequently refer to Satan, either under this name or by the title "the prince of this world" or as the Devil. When Christians meet together, it is said, "the powers of Satan are cast down." Reference is also made to the "ill-odour of the teaching of the prince of this world." The ancient kingdom of Satan was pulled down when God appeared in the likeness of men. Mention is made of "the envy of the Devil," possibly a reflection of a statement in the *Book of Wisdom* (ii. 24). The sufferings of Ignatius are described as being "cruel tortures of the Devil." The prince of this world, he says, would fain tear him in pieces.

In the *Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians* it is said that whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the cross is of the Devil, and that he who denies the resurrection and judgement is the first-born of Satan. The *Letter of the Church at Smyrna to the Church at Philomelium,* which gives an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp and of other Christians, contains a few allusions to the Devil or the Evil One. The horrible punishments to which the martyrs were subjected are said to have been designed that the Devil might if possible bring them to a denial. In one of the MSS. it is related how the heretic Marcion met Polycarp and said to him, "Recognize us, Polycarp," to which Polycarp replied, "Yes, indeed, I recognize the first-born of Satan."

Satan is several times referred to in the *Epistle of Barnabas;* generally he is spoken of as "the Evil One" or as "the Black One," and sometimes as "the Active One." Christians must offer resistance in order that the Black One may not affect an entrance. The way of the Black One is crooked and full of a curse. This is the first appearance we have noticed of a title which seems to have been literally applied in the literature of the Middle Ages. The Evil One is to be utterly hated. The day is at hand when everything shall be destroyed, including the Evil One.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* contains a luxuriant demonology. In this respect it is very similar to the Jewish apocalyptic works. Moral evils are personalized as demons. For example, slander is described as a restless demon. Anger is said to be an evil spirit. Doubtfulmindedness is declared to be "a daughter of the Devil;" so also is Evil Desire. There are many references to the Devil.

In the *Fragments of Papias* (xi) we have the following passage, which is quoted by Andreas of Caesarea in *Apocalypsin* (c. 34, Serm. 12): "But so it

1 See Lightfoot's Edition of *The Apostolic Fathers.*

befell that their array came to nought; for the great dragon, the old serpent, who is also called Satan and the devil, was cast down, yea, and was cast down to the earth, he and his angels." The saying is evidently based on Rev. xii. 9.

I shall now give a brief account of the teaching of the most outstanding writers of the period separately, with the approximate dates. For the convenience of English readers references are chiefly made to the translations in the *Ante-Nicene Library*.

(2) *Justin Martyr* (c. 114-165 A.D.) has much to say about demons. He represents them as being the offspring of the fallen angels who transgressed God's commandment, yielded to the fascination of women, and begat children who are called demons. We have seen that this view was expounded at great length in various passages of the apocalyptic literature, particularly in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. It does not appear in either the Old or the New Testament, though it evidently takes its rise from the fragment preserved in Gen. vi. The demons thus originating, Justin says, subdued the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, partly by teaching men to offer sacrifices, incense, and libations. The poets and mythologists, not knowing that these were the works of fallen angels and their progeny, ascribed them to God Himself. Hence arose all the horrors of idolatry.[1]

The activities of demons are exceedingly diversified. Heathen mythology was developed under the inspiration of demons.[2] These misled men even after the coming of Christ; they put forward such men as Simon Magus and Menander who deceived men by mighty works of magic. They raise up heretics and thus falsify doctrine. Marcion is cited as an example. They lead pagans to imitate Christian rites, e.g., baptism. They were responsible for the persecution of Christians.[3] They operate in dreams, and enslave men through magic. They terrify men into believing that they are gods, assuming any names they like. The gods of the heathen are therefore demons.

Jesus is extolled as the great exorcist.[4] He has power over all demons. In His name Christians still cast out demons. They are much more successful that the Jewish exorcists; but the power of the latter is not denied.

The prince of these evil spirits is variously called the Serpent, Satan, and the Devil. Justin clearly identifies the Devil with the serpent in the garden of Eden, or with a demonic power working through it. He speaks of the "misanthropic demon" which deceived the first pair, and led them to disobey God. On this account they were cast out of Paradise.[5] Satan is one day to be punished by fire of endless duration.

I have thought it well to dwell upon the teaching of Justin Martyr at considerable length because we see here a sharp development in the movement of human thought which linked the Christian teaching concerning Satan with pagan conceptions and, in so doing, made Satan responsible for every kind of evil in the world. Justin was a learned apologist and in his various works he has given us a philosophy of history in which Satan occupies a dominant place. Only a student of the subject can appreciate the extent to which the thought and the practical life of the Church from the second century onwards became demonized. This will become clearer as we proceed, though a separate treatise on demons and demon possession would be required to do justice to the theme.

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1 *Second Apology* V. 2 *First Apology* LIV. 3 *First Apology* LVII.
4 *Dialogue with Trypho* xxx, etc. 5 *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* xxi.

(3) Tatian (died c. 170 A.D.) in his short *Address to the Greeks* also has many interesting things to say about demons which will help us the better to understand the conceptions of a later time. He traces the fall of man to the subtlety of the serpent which led men to believe that he was God. For this reason the Logos excluded the beginner of the folly (i.e., the serpent) and his adherents from all fellowship with himself. Through his transgression the first-begotten one became a demon, and they who imitated him became a host of demons. Tatian, however, has nothing to say concerning the sin of the angels with women.[1]

As is the case with Justin, Tatian traces all the folly of idolatry and all manner of wickedness to the instigation of demons. The prognostications of the Babylonians are the work of frenzied demons. Tatian blames the Greeks for following their sophistries.

The demons, he says, do not partake of flesh, and do not die easily; but they do die as often as they teach their followers to sin. The structure of demons is spiritual, like that of fire or air. Tatian seems to conceive of the "spiritual" as being but an attenuated form of matter. "Spirit" and "matter" were not as yet so sharply opposed as they came to be at a later time. The conception of "spirit" as being a finer form of matter was destined to return in the medieval period. It enables us to understand why demons, and Satan the prince of demons, though usually invisible and inaudible, could at any moment take on material forms and make themselves both seen and heard.

The bodies of demons, Tatian affirms, are not seen except by those persons which are indwelt and fortified by the Spirit of God. They are not seen by those who possess only soul. These demons, he says, are not the souls of men; for, he asks, how should these be capable of action after death? It is unlikely that after death men should be endowed with more active powers than when they were alive.

Just as robbers capture persons, and hold them to ransom, so do the demons invade the bodies of men and produce a sense of their presence by dreams. Not only do they produce physical sickness, but also moral and spiritual conditions. They work by means of roots, sinews and bones, etc. They are overcome by faith in the one God, and also by means of asceticism. They who wish to conquer them should repudiate matter.

(4) *Theophilus of Antioch* (died c. 188 A.D.) in his *Three Books to Autolycus* likewise traces idolatry to the influence of demons. The Greek writers, he holds, were inspired and puffed up by demons.[2] Eve, who was deceived by the serpent, was the author of sin. But the real source of the temptation was the wicked demon, who is also called Satan, who spoke through the serpent, and who still works through those who are possessed by him. He is also called "demon" and "dragon," but at first he was an angel. It was Satan, he says, who caused Cain to kill Abel.

(5) A very considerable demonology is found in the able *Apology* for Christianity published by *Athenagoras* (flour. c. 177 A.D.). He reports at length the opinions held by ancient Greek writers about gods and demons. Christians, he declares, acknowledge a God, the Logos, His Son, and the Holy Spirit. They also apprehend the existence of other powers, which exercise dominion over matter, and one in particular which is hostile to God.

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1 Tatian: *Address to the Greeks*, vii, viii, ix, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xviii, xix.

2 *To Autolycus*, Book I, 10; Book II, viii, xxviii, xxix; Book III, ii.

Some of these powers or angels fell into disobedience by an abuse of their free will. We have an echo of Jewish teaching based on Gen. vi. 1f. when the writer tells how certain of the angels fell into impure love of virgins and were subjected by the flesh. Of these were begotten those who are called giants.

These angels who have fallen from heaven, he declares, haunt the air and the earth, being no longer able to rise to heavenly things. They, and the souls of the giants, which are demons, wander about the world and perform actions similar to the natures they have received, and to the appetites they have indulged. Satan is referred to as "the prince of matter" and "the adverse spirit." He is the ruling prince, and the demons are his followers.[1]

(6) I shall touch upon only a few of the more important aspects of the vast demonology which is contained in the *Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies* (c. 180-200 A.D.).[2] The existence and activities of demons, and the means of escaping from their power, may be said to be their principal theme.

First, we have a reference to the fall of the angels through their illicit connection with women. Much is also said about the relation between demons and idolatry. Unclean demons likewise love to dwell in the bodies of men that they may satisfy their desires. It is emphasized, however, that demons have no power over men against their will. A vivid description is given of the phenomena of demon possession. Demons, it is said, sometimes appear visibly, and adopt various figures as they please. They operate through oracles, and give knowledge of things unknown to man. Since they are not hampered by the heaviness of the body, they know some things more quickly and perfectly than men.

Many references are made to the prince of the demons, who is variously styled "prince of this world," "king of the present," "the wicked one," and "Devil." As to his origin, the writer at first refuses to discuss so profound a problem, but eventually he asserts that God is the maker of the Devil, though not of evil. The Devil, he suggests, may perform a necessary service. For example, he tests the free will of man. But he has only a limited power.

The writer shares the daring opinion of Origen about the possible salvation of the Devil. He expresses the view that after he has served God blamelessly to the end of the present world, he may become good by a change in his composition.

(7) *Irenaeus* (d.c. 202 A.D.) follows the previous writers in referring to "the angels who transgressed."[3] He does not, however, specify the occasion of the transgression; but since he speaks of the commixture of wickedness which took place previous to the Deluge as being due to the apostasy of the angels, there is no doubt that he has in view the incident mentioned in Gen. vi. 1ff., which is so often alluded to by the writers of this period. The Devil, he says, is the ring-leader of the apostasy. He understands the word "Satan" to signify an apostate; and he frequently applies to him the epithet "apostate angel." It was he who in the beginning enticed man to transgress his Maker's law, and thereby got him into his power. Acting through the serpent he tempted the woman in the garden.

The Devil, Irenaeus says, was among the angels who are placed over the

1 Cf. *Plea for the Christians*, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii.

2 Cf. *Recognitions of Clement*, Books, i, ii, iv, v, viii. *Homilies*, ix, xix, xx.

3 See especially, *Against Heresies*, Books, i, ii, iv, v.

SATAN IS BOUND FOR A THOUSAND YEARS

(Rev. xx. 1)

XVIIth Century Conception

See page 42

THE BEAST WITH SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HORNS

Satan in the Form of a Goat.

(Rev. xiii. 1)

XVIIth Century Conception

See page 40

DIABOLOS IS OVERTHROWN.

From Bunyan's *Holy War*. By kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Cassell & Co., London

SATAN THE INSPIRATION TO IDOLATRY.

From Bunyan's *Holy War*. By kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Cassell & Co., London

XVIIIth Century Conception

See page 47

spirits of the air, as declared by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians (ii. 2). Bitterly hostile to man, he seeks to involve him in his apostate power. But the word of God has conquered him, and put him under the power of man; for so Irenaeus interprets the promise of Jesus given to His disciples: "Behold, I confer upon you the power of treading upon the serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy" (Luke x. 19). And the time will come when, along with the wicked and profane men, the apostate angels will go away into everlasting fire.

Satan operates in many ways to achieve his evil purposes. He is, for instance, the prime cause of heresy. Such spirits as are commanded by the heretic Marcus and his associates are sent forth by Satan for the seduction and perdition of those who do not hold fast the faith taught them through the Church. Again, the men who practice magical arts and incantations; who make philtres and love-potions, and who have recourse to familiar spirits, dream-sending demons, and other abominations, have been sent forth by Satan to bring dishonour upon the Church.

Irenaeus strongly affirms the power of the Christians to undo the work of Satan by the exorcism of demons.

(8) It is scarcely too much to say that *Tertullian* (c. 155-230 A.D.), one of the most famous and influential of all the Christian teachers of this period, was obsessed by the idea of demons.[1] It would require too much of our space to trace out all the ramifications of his demonology. Since, however, he regards Satan as the chief of these demons we must at least consider the chief points of his teaching.

Tertullian traces the origin of demons to certain fallen angels. From our sacred books, he says, we learn how from certain angels, who fell of their own free will, there sprang a brood of wicked demons. The "sacred books" to which he refers were probably the apocalyptic books, and those written under the name of Enoch in particular. In one of his treatises (*On Female Dress*) he contends for the genuineness of the "Scripture of Enoch," which he believes to have been published before the Deluge, though he admits it is not received by some, nor admitted into the Jewish canon. We have noticed above how much these apocalyptic books have to say upon this subject. In one passage Tertullian speaks of those angels who "rushed from heaven on the daughters of men," and also refers to women who possessed angels as husbands.

The Devil or Satan, who is the chief of these evil spirits, was made by God, according to Tertullian. He was one of the angels who became the Devil or accuser by false detraction from God. He was by creation good, but by choice he became corrupt, and was therefore cast down from heaven.

The following elements in the teaching of Tertullian will show how completely under the influence of Satan the lives of men were now conceived to be. It should be remembered that such teaching dominated the thoughts of men throughout the Middle Ages, and indeed until a century or two ago.

Every spirit, both angel and demon, is possessed of wings. Spirits are endowed with an amazing swiftness. So swift are they, says Tertullian, that they are everywhere in a single moment; the whole world is one place to them. It is easy for them to know and to report what takes place in any part of it.

1 See especially, *Apologeticus* 22; *On Female Dress*, Book, i; *Ad Nationes* xiii; *Contra Marcion*, Book, ii; *De Anima* i, xxix; lvii; *De Spectaculis* 7, 10 12; *Ad Scapulant* 2.

It is this fact which gives them a semblance of divinity. They know so quickly that they are able to give intimations of the future. From dwelling in the air, near to the stars, and from their proximity to the clouds, they have means of knowing the preparatory processes going on in these upper regions, and thus are able to give promise of the rains which they already feel. On account of their subtlety and tenuity they have access to both the body and soul of man. They are invisible and intangible, and we can only know their action by its effects.

The pernicious power of the demons is exercised in a multitude of ways. By unseen poison in the breeze they blight apples and the grain while still in flower; or kill them in the bud, or destroy them when they have reached maturity; as though the tainted atmosphere spread abroad pestilential exhalations. In a similar way they breathe into the soul, and rouse up its corruptions into furious passions and vile excesses. They also cause diseases and then pretend to cure them. That is to say, having made men ill by their presence, they withdraw the hurtful influence and then claim to have wrought a cure.

Tertullian shows that this belief in demons is shared by pagans as well as by Jews. Philosophers and poets alike believe in them; and magicians operate by the power of good and evil spirits. In fact, an evil spirit cleaves to every individual of the human race from birth. To all persons their genii are assigned, he says, and this is only another name for demons.

Much of this famous writer's dialectical skill is directed towards exposing the folly and sin of the worship of idols; for the idolater is a fellow-worker with unclean spirits. He denounces all kinds of images and statues, whether dedicated to gods or to the memory of the dead. By means of these, accursed spirits and devils carry on their work. The demons take up their abode in the images of the dead. The Roman Capitol itself is a temple of demons. It contains as many unclean spirits as men. The demons feed on the sacrifices offered to the idols, and love the odours of blood and flesh fumes. Christians should avoid places tenanted by such multitudes of diabolic spirits.

Demons are also the most active agents in sorcery and necromancy. By their aid the sorcerers call forth ghosts, and even make what seem to be the souls of men appear. In the same way goats and tables are made to divine.

Persecution is also due to the agency of the Devil. He is not, however, the originator of it; for it is the appointment of God. Satan is only the agent, and can only operate as far as God permits.

Tertullian is peculiarly insistent about the power of Christians to exorcize demons. He even goes so far as to assert that they who cannot cast out demons are not genuine Christians. Exorcism is achieved by uttering the name of Christ, and by the recitation of the woes with which demons are threatened at the coming of Christ as Judge, accompanied by the touch and the breathing of the exorciser.

(9) The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix (c. 160-250 A.D.) also gives a vivid account of the popular belief in demons.[1] He describes them as being wandering, unclean spirits, who have lost their heavenly activities from being weighed down by earthly passions and disorders. They are steeped in vice, and being lost themselves, they seek to destroy others. The poets call them demons, he says, and the philosophers discuss their existence. He refers to the demon of Socrates, and shows how Plato, in the *Symposium* attempts to

1 Cf. *Octavius*, especially xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxxi, xxxviii.

define their nature and finds it to be a substance midway between mortal and immortal substance; that is, between body and spirit. It is a mixture or compound of the heaviness of the earth and the lightness of heaven.

This writer speaks of the manifold activities of evil spirits in much the same way as Tertullian. He says they conceal themselves in statues and consecrated images. They inspire soothsayers, and take up their abode in temples. They animate the fibres of the victim's entrails, direct the flight of birds, and in other ways assist in the art of divination. They weigh down the minds of men, and draw them away from heaven. Thanks to their rarified and subtle nature, he says, they creep into men's bodies, counterfeit diseases, terrify imaginations, and rack the limbs. They are also responsible for madmen who are seen running out into the streets, raging, ranting, and whirling round in the dance.

These demons are expelled by the Christians, Minucius says, when, adjured by the only true God, they quake with fear in men's bodies, and either come forth at once, or disappear gradually, according as the faith of the sufferer assists, or the grace of the healer inspires.

(10) Demons occupy a large place in the teaching of *Clement of Alexandria* (died c. 220 A.D.), who was one of the dominating figures of these early centuries. His writings exercised a powerful influence on the development of Christian thought.[1]

Clement's references to the Devil are of the biblical type. Satan is called "the serpent," "the evil one," "the prince of the power of the air," "the prince of demons." Clement does not dwell upon the origin or fall of Satan, nor upon the origin of demons, as do some of the previous writers. His main interest is in the activities of the demons through which Satan exercises his influence upon the lives of men.

Clement denounces the ancient poets, like the Thracian Orpheus, who, possessed by a spirit of artful sorcery, enticed men to the worship of idols. His object as a Christian teacher, he says, is to loose the bitter bondage of tyrannising demons. He has much to say about the activities of demons in former days. Saul, the king of Israel, he says, was plagued with a demon, which was driven away by the music of David. He emphatically affirms that the gods worshipped by the heathen were really demons. Such famous gods as Apollo, Artemis, Pluto, Hercules, and Zeus himself are great demons. These so-called guardians of men are really intent upon their ruin. They are gluttonous creatures, enticed by smoke and sacrificial offerings.

This writer makes the interesting point that, on their own showing, the gods of the heathen were once men, who in process of time died, and were raised to honour by fable and time. Rightly, therefore, he says, do men call them "shades of demons." How then can shades and demons be reckoned gods, being in reality unclean and impure spirits? They are acknowledged to be of an earthly, watery nature, sinking downwards by their own weight, and flitting about graves and tombs, around which they appear dimly, being but shadowy phantasms. He supports this estimate of pagan idolatry by citing Ps. xcvi. 5, "For all the gods of the nations are images of demons," a favourite passage with these early Christian writers.

1 See especially, *Exhortation to the Heathen*, chs. i, ii, iii, iv, v, xi; *Miscellanies*, Books, i, v, vi, vii; *Instructor*, Book ii.

(11) In the writings of *Origen* (c. 185-254 A.D.) we have the most elaborate demonology given by the early teachers of the Church.[1] In addition to reproducing most of the biblical conceptions upon our subject, he introduces a number of novel and original ideas. He was the boldest thinker of the period, and by his daring flights of reason he incurred the disapprobation of the ecclesiastical authorities.

With regard to the Devil and his angels, he points out in the preface to his famous treatise *De Principiis* that the teaching of the Church has laid it down that these beings exist indeed; but what they are, or how they exist, it has not explained with sufficient clearness. The generally held opinion, however, is that the Devil was an angel, and that, having become an apostate, he induced as many of the angels as possible to fall away with himself. These are called his angels. Origen is of the opinion that the fall of the prince of Tyre, lamented by Ezekiel (xxviii. 11ff.), really refers to a certain angel who had received the office of governing the nation of the Tyrians, and to whom the care of their souls had been entrusted. He apparently believes that if this does not refer to the Devil himself, the allusion is to one of his angels.

Again, the fall of Lucifer, proclaimed by Isaiah (xiv. 12ff.), he holds, clearly applies to Satan who, as Jesus Himself plainly indicates, fell from heaven (Lk. x. 18). Because he was cast down into this world, and exercises power over those who acknowledge his sway, he is called "the prince of this world," and, as St. John says, "the whole world lieth in the wicked one" (1 John v. 19). Satan, he says, is with propriety called "the adversary;" for he was the first among those who were living a peaceful and happy life to fall from blessedness and to lose his wings. He thinks that the fall of the angels was due to vanity. Satan attributed to himself the priority which he enjoyed when in a state of sinlessness, instead of giving glory to God.

Origen teaches that like all other rational creatures, the Devil possessed the power of choosing either good or evil. Along with other apostate angels, he turned to evil, and thus became the originator of evil. The serpent which tempted Eve was inspired by the Devil, according to the view which he finds in the work entitled "The Ascension of Moses," of which the apostle Jude makes mention.[2] He also identifies Azazel[3] of Leviticus xvi. 8ff. with the Devil, and the Devil with the Satan mentioned in Zech. iii. 1; Job i and ii, and 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

Origen expresses the opinion that, despite the depth of wickedness into which they have fallen, the Devil and his angels may be saved under the discipline of the future world.

Satan is, of course, the prince of demons, and concerning the activities of these this daring writer is as voluminous as any of the previous writers. He expresses the view that, like the Devil and his angels, the demons are rational creatures who fell from a higher to a lower estate by the exercise of the power of free will. It may be demonstrated with the utmost clearness, he says, that these malignant powers were not formed or created so by nature. They fell from a better to a worse position, and were thus changed into wicked beings. Other people besides the Jews, he declares, acknowledge the existence of

1 See especially, *De Principiis*, Books, i-iii; *Contra Celsum*, Books, i-viii; *Exhortation to the Martyrs* xlv, xlvi.

2 On this work see above, p. 20.

3 On this conception see above, p. 14f.

demons. But whereas pagans recognize the existence of good and evil demons, Christians apply the name to those beings only who have fallen away from God. They were not demons originally, but became so when they departed from the true way. Origen, however, does not trace the origin of demons to the unlawful intercourse of angels and the daughters of men, a view which, as we have seen above, is so frequently found in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, and from this source passed into the Christian writings of these early centuries.

It should be noticed also that Origen distinguished between fallen angels and demons, though what the precise distinction is he does not clearly state. Thus, in controverting the statement of Celsus that the demons belong to God, and are therefore to be believed, Origen argues that just as some men only, and not all, are called "men of God," although all originally belonged to God, so some angels are said to be angels of God, and others to be angels of the Devil. But among demons, he says, there is no such distinction, for all are said to be wicked. The prince of demons is not God but Beelzebub.

Such a distinction beween fallen angels and demons is actually made in the Jewish apocalyptic literature (e.g., in *I Enoch* and *Jubilees*) where demons are said to be the offspring of the giants who were born of the union of fallen angels and earthly women. According to the earliest Greek teaching, on the other hand, demons were originally good beings; they were even gods; then they came to be viewed as intermediaries between the gods and men. Gradually the name acquired an evil connotation; but it was only at the beginning of the Christian era that demons came to be viewed as wholly evil.

The Devil and demons are, according to Origen, the fruitful cause of sin. He points out, however, that some sins spring from the constitution of our nature, e.g., those that arise from the desire for food, and from the instinct of sex. In these respects, he declares, it is possible for a person to go wrong without any incitement from the Devil. Nevertheless these natural instincts are occasions which are utilized by the Devil and the demons who urge men on to excess, and gain a lodgement in their minds. These hostile powers also introduce false knowledge into the minds of men, and lead human souls astray. They inculcate "the wisdom of this world, and of the princes of this world." They stir up the princes, senates and rulers to persecute Christians and to attempt to destroy Christianity. They even cause plagues, barrenness, tempests, and similar calamities.

These opposing powers have their ranks and orders, just like the good angels. There is a distinction, he affirms, between "principalities," "powers, "rulers of the darkness of this world," "spirits of wickedness," "malignant spirits," and "unclean demons." Position in the ranks of evil powers is determined, not by essential nature, or by the evil powers being so created, but rather by conduct and their progress in wickedness.

As with all the writers of this period, Origen in many places contends that the gods of the heathen world are in reality demons. It is they who receive the sacrifices that are offered to idols. They delight in frankincense and blood, and in the exhalations of sacrificial odours. What the Greeks call the temples of the gods are in reality the temples of deceitful demons. It is this fact which explains Paul's reference to things sacrificed to idols (1 Cor. viii. 4), and his saying that the Gentiles sacrifice to devils; and also that a man cannot be a partaker of the Lord and of the table of devils (1 Cor. x. 19f.).

On the subject of the nature of the bodies of demons, Origen quotes a saying from a treatise entitled *The Doctrine of Peter* (which is also found in the Ignatian Epistle to the Smyrneans), that Jesus, after His resurrection, said to His disciples, "I am not an incorporeal demon" (cf. Luke xxiv. 39; John xx. 20). Origen contends that the Greek word translated "incorporeal" (*asòmaton*) is here used to denote that the form or outline of the demoniacal body, whatever it is, does not resemble this gross and visible body of ours. The saying means, he says, that Jesus had not such a body as demons have, which is naturally fine, subtle and thin, as if formed of air; but that He had a solid and palpable body. He remarks that the air is also called "incorporeal" because it is not a body of such a nature as can be grasped or held, or can offer resistance to pressure.

According to Origen therefore demons are not bodiless; they possess a body, though it differs from that of man. It is not normally visible to the human eye. In his *Exhortation to the Martyrs* he says that the demons, in order to remain in the heavy atmosphere which surrounds the earth, have need of the nourishment provided by the smoke of sacrifice and by blood and incense. Those who provide these things therefore help the demons and become partakers of their sins.

Origen distinguishes two ways in which demons operate upon the lives of men. Sometimes they make suggestions and provoke thoughts in the minds of men. At other times they take complete possession, so as to allow their captives neither understanding nor feeling. Such persons are commonly called "possessed;" they are deprived of reason and are insane, like those that are said to have been cured by Jesus. Some persons are possessed by hostile spirits from birth. If men are negligent and slothful evil spirits will rush into their minds and find a lodgement.

Demons, of course, run riot in pagan countries. They haunt the denser parts of bodies, frequent unclean places, enter into the bodies of animals and stir them up to do whatever they choose. They make use especially of the wilder and more noxious types of animals, such as serpents, foxes and wolves, as being more amenable to their influence. Each species of demon seems to possess an affinity with a certain species of animal. It was on this ground, he thinks, that Moses based his prohibitions with regard to unclean animals.

Demons are closely associated with magic art. The Magi especially were on familiar terms with evil spirits and invoked them to enable them to carry out their purposes.

As to exorcism: this was, of course, frequently accomplished by Jesus, as is narrated in the Gospels. The followers of Jesus also have power to cast out demons. They prevail over them, not by the use of incantations, but by using the name of Jesus, accompanied by the announcement of the narratives which relate to Him. Such power indeed does the name of Jesus possess, he says, that there have been instances where it was effectual when it was pronounced even by bad men, in agreement with the saying of Jesus in Matt. vii. 22.

Origen also gives certain formulae as used by the Jews in their war against demons, such as "the God of Israel," and "the God of the Hebrews." He points out that it is important that such names and formulae should be pronounced exactly, and in their original language. They are possessed of mystic or natural power which is lost when they are translated into another

language. The word "sabaoth," e.g., is powerful; but if it is translated into "Lord of armies" or "Almighty" it will accomplish nothing.

The importance attached to the exact repetition of formulae in incantations is familiar to all students of Eastern magic and demonology.

CHAPTER VII

In Christian Literature from the Third to the Eighth Century

In this chapter we shall consider the teaching of a number of great writers who lived during the period lying between the third and the eighth centuries. These have special importance in view of the fact that appeal is still made to them as standards of Christian doctrine. They certainly made a deep impression upon the mind of the Church in their own day, and their influence still remains.

(1) The contribution of *Cyprian* (c. 200-258 A.D.) to demonology mainly consists of brief references to the Devil and to demons which are found scattered throughout his writings.[1] He does not attempt to formulate a doctrine of demons, though in one of his works he speaks at length concerning their activities.

Cyprian makes frequent references to the Devil under various names. He does not dwell at any length upon his fall, as do some of the earlier writers; but we learn from him that Satan was formerly an angel. At the beginning of the world he perished and destroyed others. Satan's fall is attributed to jealousy. He who was sustained in angelic majesty, and was the beloved of God, broke forth into jealousy and malevolent envy when he beheld man made in the image of God. In seeking to rob man of the immortality which had been conferred upon him, he himself lost that which he had previously been. How great an evil is that whereby an angel fell, whereby he who deceived was himself deceived, he exclaims in his treatise *On Jealousy and Envy*. This view of the Devil's fall is supported by the statement in the *Book of Wisdom* (ii. 24). We find also the statement that six thousand years are nearly completed since he first attacked man.

The activities of Satan are manifold. As they are mostly described in biblical language it would be tedious to give them all in detail. It may suffice to say that he is everywhere recognized as the great enemy of man. He is the "ensnaring adversary," and he is frequently referred to as "the serpent." Men, Cyprian says, lie under the power of the Devil. It is his work to wound God's servants with lies. He takes possession of the hearts and minds of men. The mind of man is indeed besieged by the onsets of the Devil.

But Satan has no power over man except it is permitted him by God. He was cast down by the Advent of Christ, and is prostrate beneath His feet. His malignity is beaten down by the waters of baptism. In the end he, and those who have done his will, will be tormented in unquenchable fire.

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1 See especially, *On Jealousy & Envy*, x; *On the Unity of the Church*, iii; *On the Vanity of Idols*, vi; *Epistles*, i, v, xix, xxxix, li, liv, lv, lxxv. *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, xi.

This famous African bishop does not say so much about the activities of demons as Tertullian and some of the other writers which have been mentioned. Nevertheless, we have a number of allusions which show that he accepted the current view, and in one passage he speaks at large upon the various ways in which demons reveal their nature and manifest their power. They operate, of course, under the direction of Satan their chief.

In his treatise *On the Vanity of Idols* he gives an elaborate account of demons and shows their relation to pagan worship. Auspices and auguries, he says, are the tricks of impure and wandering spirits. These demons were acknowledged by the poets. Socrates admitted that he was instructed by a demon. From them the Magi drew their power to work mischief.

Christians still have the power to cast out demons. By startling threats, he declares, they can force demons to avow themselves to be impure and vagrant spirits which have entered into the bodies of men whom they purpose to destroy. With heavy blows they can drive them out of their victims, howling and groaning, with constantly renewed pains. The waters of baptism are especially effective in the expulsion of demons; these succeed even when all other methods have failed. By the water of salvation and the sanctification of baptism, Cyprian says, the Devil is beaten down. Just as scorpions and serpents which prevail on dry ground, cannot prevail nor retain their venom when cast into water, so also wicked spirits cannot remain any longer in the body of a man in whom, baptized and sanctified, the Holy Spirit is beginning to dwell.

(2) Few writers in the early Church have so much to say about demons as *Eusebius* (264-340), famous alike as the bishop of Caesarea, and as the father of ecclesiastical history. In his treatises *Preparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* especially, he reviews the various pagan philosophies and religions which had preceded, and in some sense had prepared the way for, the coming of Christianity. The belief in demons was widespread throughout the ancient world. Eusebius fully accepts the fact of their existence, whilst correcting the pagan beliefs at various points. The following are the most characteristic features of his teaching.[1]

Until the coming of Jesus the demons tyrannized over the nations and wrought havoc of every kind. They goaded the nations into furious wars against each other. They confused the minds of the peoples, and misled them into the belief that they were gods. In this way they gave rise to all the enormities of idolatry. All the supposed gods are simply wicked demons; this is shown by their acceptance of human as well as of animal sacrifices. Apollo is a demon and not a God.

Both poets and philosophers were misled by demons, and plunged the multitude into the worship of wicked demons which pretended to be gods. These demons lurk in the carved images and operate to deceive the minds of men. Eusebius allows that in the opinion of some sceptical-minded people the whole system is a delusion: mere conjurer's tricks and fraud. He does not deny that this may sometimes have been the case; but his language shows that he believed evil powers actually to have operated by means of images and statues. In fact, all the idolatrous creation of gods among the heathen was, he says, the work of demons. They wrought abundance of fictitious miracles

1 See especially, *Prep. Evang.* (Gifford's trans.) 10 and the following sections; also *Demon. Evang.*, Book iii, and the following books.

which were exaggerated by the consecrated ministers who themselves were inspired by demons.

The demons also operated by means of the oracles to delude mankind. Eusebius cites Plutarch in support of the view that some of the demons were held to be the souls of dead men. He repeatedly insists that none of the various demons can be truly regarded as good. On the contrary, all alike are mischievous, wicked and cruel. We should note that this is a departure from the earlier Greek view that demons were good beings, and also from the later view that some were good and others evil. It is with good reason, he says, that the Scriptures censure the worship of demons, as in Ps. cvi. 37. The divine oracle speaks the truth when it says: "All the gods of the heathen are demons" (Ps. xcvi. 5 LXX), and also the apostle Paul when he affirms that "the things which they (the heathen) sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God" (cf. 1 Cor. x. 20).

Eusebius cites some words of Plutarch to show that the demons are subject to death.

This famous writer traces the origin of demons to the fall of the angels, as narrated in Gen. vi. 1f., thus sharing the views of the Jewish apocalyptists. The union of the angels of God with the daughters of men gave rise to a race of giants. One might say, he remarks, that these demons are those giants, and that their spirits have been deified by the subsequent generations of men.

The leader of the demons was formerly an angel who led his followers into apostasy from the better angels. In Scripture he is generally called "dragon," "serpent," etc. Because of their apostasy the demons were sentenced to dwell in Tartarus or the abyss. But of this race, he says, a small fragment was left on the earth and in the sublimer air to exercise the athletes of piety, and this has became the cause of the polytheistic delusion of mankind. This view, as we have known, is also derived from the apocalyptic literature. It is found in the *Book of Jubilees*.[1] These creatures, Eusebius says, are the beings which Holy Scripture calls evil spirits and demons, principalities and powers, world-rulers and spiritual hosts of wickedness. Thus from the fallen angels, he declares, the Hebrews derive the race of demons, and the whole species of the adverse and wicked agency.

Eusebius cites, apparently with approval, the statement of Porphyry that these demons are normally invisible, and perfectly imperceptible by human senses. For they are not clothed with a solid body, nor have they all one form. Their forms are moulded in various shapes which express the character of their spirit. Sometimes, however, the demons become visible, and sometimes they change their forms, at least the worst of them do so.

According to Eusebius these demons dwell about the earth, as well as underground, and haunt the heavy cloudy atmosphere over the earth. They love also to dwell in the graves and monuments of the dead, and in all loathsome and impure matter. They delight in bloodshed and gore, and in the bodies of animals of all kinds, as well as in the exhalation from the fumes of incense and of vapours rising out of the earth.

Eusebius also seems to accept the view of Porphyry that demons are everywhere. He quotes this writer as saying that every house is full of them. Our bodies are likewise full of them, for they specially delight in certain kinds of food. So while we are eating they approach and sit close to our body. But

1 See above, p. 18.

most of all do they delight in blood, and in impure meats, and enjoy these by entering into those who use them.

According to Porphyry the rulers of the wicked demons are Sarapis and Hecate; but our Scriptures teach, Eusebius says, that Beelzebul is the prince of demons. This ruler is "the mighty demon."

Eusebius has not very much to say about exorcism, though it is obvious that he believes in it. Deliverance from demons is obtained by the preaching of the Gospel, as well as by chastity and by a pure disposition.

(3) The *Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem* (315-386 A.D.) reveal a very positive belief in the existence and activity of the Devil, and in demon possession and exorcism.[1]

The Devil is described as the author of sin. He was created good, and became a Devil of his own free will. He was at first an archangel and a good servant of God. He is now called "Satan" because he is the adversary of man, and also "the Devil" on account of his disposition to slander. When he was cast out he drew away many with him. Like Origen, Cyril refers to Ezekiel xxviii. 12-17 as supporting this view of the Devil. He seems to regard the prince of Tyre as an embodiment of Satan. He also refers to the saying of Jesus in Luke x. 18.

Satan, he says, was the cause of the fall of Adam and of his expulsion from Paradise. He is still active, and he leads men into every kind of sin. From him come adultery, fornication, and every kind of evil. He is the cause of divisions among the people of God. In the time of Antichrist the martyrs will have to do battle with Satan in his own person.

Cyril differs from Origen, who held that the Devil may ultimately be saved, in asserting that the Devil has a will that cannot repent.

The phenomena of possession are vividly described by Cyril. The Devil, he says, takes forcible possession of a person's body. He throws a man down, twists his tongue, distorts his lips, until the man foams and gasps convulsively.

In common with most of the previous writers, he refers to the sacrifices offered to idols as being polluted by the invocation of unclean spirits. Magic divination of all kinds, as well as sorcery and necromancy, are denounced as services of the Devil. It was by the aid of demons that Simon Magus wrought his marvels, such as riding in a demon's chariot in the air.

Much is said in the *Lectures* about the power of Christian exorcism. A definite time during the service, called "the hour of exorcisms," is now apparently set apart for the expulsion of demons. The casting out of demons is said to be accomplished in various ways; e.g., by the Spirit of God; by the invocation of the crucified Christ; by the cross of Jesus; by prayer and the breathing of the exorcist; and by the use of exorcised oil. The power of exorcism is conceived of as a special gift bestowed upon some persons only in the Christian community. The power of prophecy, Cyril declares, is given to one, the power to drive away devils to another, and another is endowed with the power to interpret the Scriptures.

(4) I need not say much about the demonology of *Ambrose of Milan* (c. 340-397) since most of his references to our subject simply reflect the teaching of the Bible. His demonology is not elaborate.[2] The Devil is

1 See especially, Lectures i, ii, iv, vi, xiii, xv, xvi, xvii, xix.

2 See especially, *Concerning Repentance*, Book I; *On the Christian Faith*, Book V; *On the Holy Spirit*, Book II; *Duties of the Clergy*, Book I.

frequently mentioned as the great adversary of man. He tempts man still as he tempted Jesus, and sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light. Through sin he has reduced the human race to perpetual captivity. In a sense he has become the creditor of mankind. With reference to St. Paul's injunction to deliver a sinner to Satan for the destruction of the flesh (cf. 1 Cor. v. 5) Ambrose points out that Satan has the power to bring ailments on our limbs and sickness on our bodies.

Only occasionally does Ambrose make reference to demons or evil spirits. Nor has he much to say about the practice of exorcism. He quotes the promise of Jesus to His disciples that they should possess the power to cast out demons. And the general practice of exorcism is implied in his statement that one person is more fitted for a reader, another for singing, and a third for exorcising those possessed with an evil spirit.

(5) The references of *Chrysostom* (c. 347-407 A.D.) to the Devil are very numerous, but as most of these are based on biblical passages it is scarcely of interest to detail them all.[1] We may however notice that Chrysostom emphasizes the value of the operations of the Devil in the development of human character. As against those who urge that the Devil should not be allowed to make his onslaughts upon men, since so many are overcome by him, he points out that to eliminate the Devil would amount to robbing men of their chance of exhibiting their power of winning crowns. It is only the slothful that are overcome by him. The Devil does not overcome men by compulsion; he gets the better of them by deceit. He himself is not wicked by nature but by choice.

Furthermore, both the Devil and the brood of demons remain under the control of God; they are not allowed to exercise complete tyranny over men. In the end Christ will be victorious, and will triumph over all forms of evil.

Chrysostom argues at great length that demons are not allowed to govern the world, as was asserted by some. In illustration of the way in which demons govern when they have opportunity, he cites the case of the herd of swine which were driven by them into the sea. If demons were allowed to control human affairs, he says, men would be in no better case than those demon-possessed swine. The truth is, the providence of God extends even to the demoniacs, and demoniacal operations are limited.

The close relation between demons and idolatry is emphasized by this great preacher. In this way he explains St. Paul's statement to the Corinthians that before their conversion they had been led away unto dumb idols (1 Cor. xii. 2). Demons obstruct the path that leads from earth to heaven. They occupy the intervening space between earth and heaven, and are no better than wild beasts. If, however, we have the light of the spirit they cannot hurt us, but if we extinguish it, they soon take us captive, and rob us of everything. The Devil and the demons have the power to inflict us with bodily as well as spiritual evils.

The Church is triumphant in its conflict with the demons. The Holy Spirit found the earth filled with demons, and has made it heaven. Formerly there were altars everywhere, with smoke and fumes of sacrifice. Demons held their orgies. The earth was a citadel of the Devil. But this malign power

1 See especially, *On the Power of Man to Resist the Devil*, Hom. ii; *That Demons do not Govern the World*, Hom. i; *Homily on Matthew*, xli, lvii; *Homily on 1 Cor.* xxix; *Homily on Thess.*, xi; *Homily on Acts*, xxiii, xli; *On Eutropius*, ii; *Homily on 2 Cor.*, xxvii.

is now broken. St. Paul was so endowed with the Holy Spirit that he was stronger than the demons and strangled them. Even St. Peter's shadow was sufficient to put diseases to flight and to expel demons. Chrysostom emphasizes the efficacy of fasting in the practice of exorcism. Even the bones of the saints have power to expel demons.

(6) In his doctrine of the Devil *Jerome* (c. 340-420 A.D.) is fundamentally biblical, though there are many additions.[1] Throughout his writings the Devil appears as the great enemy of God and man. Through pride he lost his eminence as an archangel, and fell from his high estate.

Jerome strongly opposes Origen's suggestion that the Devil will recover his former character and position. He asserts that the Church teaches that the Devil and his attendants, as well as all impious persons and transgressors, will perish eternally.

In his general demonology Jerome illustrates the development of materialistic conceptions, such as abounded in the later centuries; and even until quite recently. His views are chiefly to be found in his account of the lives of certain saints where a legendary element may reasonably be expected. His consciousness of the danger of invention and exaggeration by the religious imagination in this realm is indicated by his description of ideal monastics who, besides their other virtues, are too conscientious to invent, as some silly men do, monstrous stories of struggles with demons, designed to magnify their heroes in the eyes of the crowd. But this caution notwithstanding, Jerome has much to say about demons which have been seen, heard, and felt by men.

In his *Letter to Eustochium,* for example, he relates how Paula saw at Samaria the tombs of Elisha, Obadiah, and John the Baptist, and was filled with terror when she saw demons screaming under different tortures before the tombs of the saints; and men howling like wolves, baying like dogs, roaring like lions, hissing like serpents, and bellowing like bulls.

Again, he states that Hilarion, when sailing with a fair wind among the Cyclades, heard the voices of unclean spirits coming from the towns and villages, and running in crowds to the shore. Here, no doubt, the reference is to supposed demon-possessed people; for he tells that after the saint had entered Paphos, in Cyprus, in less than twenty days those possessed by unclean spirits throughout the whole island began to cry out that Hilarion, Christ's servant, had come.

But it is evident that the belief in demons is now becoming materialized; it is believed that Satan, and the demons under his control, are able to take grotesque forms, and to manifest themselves to the eyes and ears of men. This became a permanent feature of Christian demonology for many centuries. In the desert St. Antony is reported to have seen a creature of mingled shape, half horse, half man, called by the poets Hippo-Centaur. Jerome confesses that he is unable to decide whether the Devil took this shape to terrify the saint; or whether the desert actually engenders this kind of animal. Jerome, however, is not always so cautious and hesitating. He proceeds to describe another creature of the desert, a mannikin with a hooked snout, horned forehead, and with extremities like goat's feet, which he appears to accept as a real demonic being. Antony is said to address this strange creature and to

1 See especially, *Letters,* xii, xxii, xxxix, li, lxi, cviii, cxxiv, cxxv; *Against the Pelagians,* Book i, *Life of St. Hilarion,* 17, 18, 22, 42; *Life of Paulus,* 7, 8, 17, 18, 22, 42.

ask him who he is. In his reply the creature claims to be a mortal being, and one of the inhabitants of the desert whom the Gentiles worship under the names of Fauns, Satyrs, and Incubi. He beseeches Antony to entreat the Lord on their behalf. When the dialogue was finished the wild creature fled away, as if on wings. Jerome remarks that no one should scruple to believe this incident: for its truth is supported by what took place when Constantine was on the throne, a matter of which the whole world was witness.[1]

Jerome criticizes Origen's opinion that after various cycles a human being may in another world become a demon, and that a demon may be placed in a more material body and become a human being; likewise his view that an archangel may become the Devil, and the Devil in turn be changed into an archangel. Jerome regards these as dangerous speculations.

Of the reality of demon possession, and of the power of Christians to cast out evil spirits, Jerome is quite convinced. He tells of children, two or three years old, who were possessed of devils. Hilarion is said to have exorcised many demons. By prayer, and by a word of command in the name of Christ the demons were expelled. Even a huge Bactrian camel, in a state of raging madness, is said to have been exorcised by the saint and to have become perfectly quiet. The old man explained to the people that the Devil seizes even beasts of burden, wishing to destroy not only men but also their belongings.[2]

(7) *Augustine* (c. 354-430) was the most influential writer of this period. It is generally held that in many respects he fixed the beliefs of the Church for a thousand years. The importance of his teaching cannot therefore be exaggerated.

Augustine treats the doctrine of the Devil and of demons upon so large a scale that it would almost be possible to construct a complete demonology from his pages. We find here illustrations of nearly every aspect of belief. We shall note only the more salient points of his teaching.[3]

In his doctrine of the Devil Augustine follows broadly the previous writers. He holds that the Devil was originally a good angel who of his own will fell from his high estate. A number of other angels shared his apostasy. On account of their rebellion they were cast down from their habitation in the lofty etherial purity into the lowest darkness as into a prison. Augustine appears to waver in his interpretation of the incident mentioned in Gen. vi. 1f. which, as we have seen, is the usual starting-point of Jewish teaching upon the fall of the angels. He mentions that the passage is interpreted as pointing to an illicit union between fallen angels and the daughters of men, which gave rise to a race of giants. But in another passage he remarks that giants are said to have been born before the union is reported to have taken place. He admits that Scripture testifies that angels have appeared amongst men with visible and tangible bodies, and are therefore capable of effecting such unions. Moreover, there is a very general rumour, he says, so well verified by the experience of men that it would be impudent to deny it, that sylvans and fauns, who are commonly called "incubi," had often made wicked assaults upon

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1 Cf. *Life of Paulus*, 7, 8.

2 *Life of St. Hilarion*, 17f., 22f., 42.

3 Cf. *Confessions*, Books, vii, 5; x. 67; *City of God*, Book, iii, 5; viii, 14, 15f. ix. 22; x. 9; xv. 23; xxi. 6; *On the Trinity*, Book, iii. 12; iv. 14; *De Divinatione Daimonum*, iii. 7; *Letters*, lxxviii, cii, clviii, clxvi.

women, and satisfied their lusts upon them; and that certain devils, called Duses by the Gauls, are constantly attempting and affecting this impurity. Nevertheless, he cannot believe, he declares, that God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen. He prefers to think that the passage means that the sons of Seth formed connections with the daughters of Cain.[1]

Augustine allows that the belief that the demons have aerial bodies may be true. He discusses at length the views of Apuleius, the Platonist philosopher of Madaura. According to the Platonists the demons have immortality of body in common with the gods, but passions of the mind in common with men. The middle regions between gods and men are their abode; for the abode of gods is heaven, men dwell in the earth, the demons in the air. These views appear to be accepted by Augustine, but he will not allow that the demons are better than men merely because they have better bodies. He points out that even the animals surpass men in some of the senses of the body. For example, the eagle has greater strength of vision, the dogs greater acuteness of smell, and the birds are swifter in motion. Nevertheless man surpasses both animals and demons in virtue, which is the higher test. Neither does the fact that the demons inhabit the air, and men the earth, make them really superior to men; for even the birds do the same.[2]

The bodies of demons, however, are not material in the ordinary sense of that word. Augustine discusses the question whether the demons, not being material, can be burnt by material fire, as suggested by the expression "prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. xxv. 41). How can they be burned by such a fire, he asks, unless, perhaps, as learned men have thought, the devils have a kind of body composed of that dense and humid air which we feel strikes us when the wind is blowing? He feels, however, that this is not a matter on which we can be dogmatic; and if anyone maintains that the devils have no bodies, this is not a matter either to be laboriously investigated, or to be debated with keenness. Though they have no bodies, he affirms, the spirits, that is, the devils themselves, may be tormented by material fires.[3]

Augustine frequently refers to these demons as dwelling in the air, a view which prevailed among the Greeks, and which finds expression in the New Testament (cf. Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 12) and in various passages in the Jewish apocalyptic literature. It accounts for many developments of thought and practice in the later centuries. Many persons, he says, seeking to return to God, but ignorant of the true way, and longing for curious visions, have by correspondence of heart drawn unto themselves the princes of the air. He denounces the folly and wickedness of sacrificing to false gods or demons, and to the Devil, whom he describes as a wicked creature which dwells in the comparatively dark heaven nearest the earth, as in a prison that has been assigned to him in the air.

The demons, Augustine thinks, must be admitted to have the faculties of sight and hearing. Otherwise how can they pass from one place to another if they have a body, but are devoid of the power of seeing? They must also have a certain amount of foreknowledge, though they are frequently deceived. To those who by divination seek their help many things in the past and future are made known, and turn out just as they are foretold. But these people

1 Cf. *City of God*, Book, iii. 5; Book, xv. 23.

2 Cf. Ibid, Book, viii. 14, 15; *De Divinatione Daimonum*, ii. 7.

3 *Ibid*, xxi, 10.

he says, are often deluded by false angels to whom God has subjected the lowest part of the world.

The demons, however, are not intermediaries between God and man, as Apuleius and the Platonists contend. Their character entirely unfits them for such an office. Jesus Christ is the one sufficient Mediator. The demons must be considered to be all evil, not good and evil, as the Platonists asserted Augustine contends that even among pagan worshippers the word "demon" has a bad meaning.

It is many times asserted by Augustine that the gods of the nations are impure spirits, whether those of dead men or of demons. They are attracted into the temples and images by means of things which suit their tastes, not by food but by symbols, such as woods, plants, animals, songs and rites.

Demons are also very intimately associated with Magic; and Augustine admits that by their aid magicians are able to accomplish many marvellous things. Their power, however, is limited, and all their operations are under the control of God.

Among the illicit arts connected with demonology Augustine mentions necromancy as a criminal tampering with the unseen world. Such arts, he says, are to be condemned. Those who practise them are the slaves of the deceitful rites of demons.

Even infants are subject to the assaults of unclean spirits. But these spirits cannot take possession of anyone except by guile. They frequently operate by suggesting unclean thoughts, and they perhaps influence men by dreams.

Various passages show that exorcism was the general rule of the Church, even in the case of children. Victory over the demons is achieved by the sacrifice of Christ, and by the power of God's Holy Spirit. This divine power is often manifested at the tombs of the saints and martyrs, as Augustine can affirm from his own knowledge.

(8) In order to show how firmly established and widespread this Christian doctrine of Satan had become by this time we shall now consider the teaching of three writers who lived, one at the centre, the others nearly at the extremities of the Christian world, from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D.

Gregory the Great (540-604) has very much to say concerning Satan. By him the pre-historic monster which, as we have seen, is referred to in numerous passages in the Old Testament, is definitely identified with Satan. Thus Satan is "the Dragon," "Leviathan," and "Behemoth." Originally, he was created by God to be one of the chiefest of all the angels. Of his own will he became apostate and drew after him many other angels. Gregory takes very literally the allusions to Satan in the Prologue to the Book of Job. He is at pains to explain how Satan could be present among the elect angels, despite the fact that he had been banished from their number a long time previously. Though he had lost his blessed estate, he says, Satan did not part with a nature like to theirs. His deserts sink him; but he is yet lifted up by the properties of his subtle nature. He was, however, deprived of the blessedness of the beatific vision. He could be seen by God, but he could not see God, even when he was in His presence.

The Devil is the chief of the impure spirits or demons. Having fallen from the etherial heaven, their abode is in the midspace between this heaven and

1 See especially, *Morals*, Books, II, IV, VIII, XV, XXVII, XXXII, XXXIII

the earth. The activities of these malign spirits are innumerable. Satan is the irreconcilable enemy of God and man, and he has fallen into sin beyond all hope of recovery. Unlike Origen, Gregory holds that Satan cannot repent. In all manner of ways he seeks to carry out his evil designs among men. He influences the minds of men, whether they are awake or asleep. He often troubles the saints by dreams.

But Satan's activities are not confined to the mental and spiritual world. He has control over material things, and can even put the elements into commotion, and stir the air into storms, to serve his wicked designs. The Christian, however, has the assurance that all these hostile operations of Satan are ultimately under the control of God. The Devil knows that he is unable to do anything of himself.

Satan will be specially manifested in the Antichrist, concerning whom Gregory waxes eloquent. At the end of the world he will be destroyed in the flames of hell.

(9) *Isidore of Seville* (560-636 A.D.) was a notable teacher in Western Christendom.[1] The name *Devil,* he says means in Hebrew "falling downwards," and the name is given because this apostate angel despised the continuance in peace in the height of heaven, and rushing down, he fell through the weight of pride. In Greek, the Devil is called "accuser," either because he accuses men before God on account of their offences, or because he brings false charges against the saints, as is stated in Rev. xii. 10. In Latin "Satan" signifies "Adversary" or "Transgressor," for Satan is the enemy of truth, and is always opposed to the virtues of the saints. He is called "tempter" because he demands leave to prosecute the just, as stated in Job. He is called "Antichrist" because he is about to come against Christ. He is a transgressor because he stood not in the truth in which he was established.

The Devil is the chief of the prevaricating angels or demons. Before their transgression these demons wore celestial bodies. When they fell these were changed into bodies of an aerial quality. They are not now permitted to occupy the purer spaces of the upper air. They dwell in the gloomy lower air, which is to them like a prison, until the time of judgement.

Demons possess more knowledge of things than that which belongs to frail human beings. Their superior knowledge is gained partly by the keenness of a more subtle sense, partly by the experience of a very long life, and partly through angelic revelation given by the command of God.

(10) Passing now to Eastern Christendom, we find similar views expressed by *John of Damascus,* who died about 754 A.D.[2] He teaches that the Devil is the leader of the angelic powers which were set over the earthly realm, and into whose hands God committed the guardianship of the earth. He was not wicked by nature. When he was created there was in him no trace whatever of evil. He was a good being made for good ends. He did not however, sustain the brightness and honour bestowed upon him at his creation. By the operation of his own free will he lost the original harmony of his nature, and became hostile to God who created him. He rebelled against God, and was the first to depart from God and become evil. He who was light became darkness of his own choice. An innumerable host of angels that were subject to him revolted with him and shared his fall.

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1 See *Etymologiarum,* vol. ii., Books, viii, ix.

2 See *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith,* Book, II, ch. iv.

From an engraving by Gustave Doré

LUCIFER

"If he were beautiful
As he is hideous now, and yet did dare
To scowl upon his Maker, well from him
May all our misery flow. Oh, what a sight!
. . . Under each (face) shot forth
Two mighty wings, enormous as became
A bird so vast."

om *The Vision of Dante,* Hell Canto xxxiv. By kind permission of Cassell & Co. Ltd.

See page 52

EGYPTIAN DEVIL

ASSYRIAN DEVIL

From *THE DEVIL, HIS GREATNESS AND DECADENCE,* etc. by Albert Réville.

By kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Williams & Norgate, London.

These fallen angels cannot hurt anyone save as God permits. For instance, Satan was allowed to afflict Job, and the demons were permitted to enter into the swine. When permission is given, demons prevail against men, and they can assume any form in which they wish to appear. Though, naturally, angels and demons are alike ignorant of the future, yet they can make predictions; sometimes because they can see what is happening at a distance, and sometimes by merely making guesses. They also know the Scriptures. In these ways they are often able to tell what is true; but much that they say is false, and should not be believed.

All wickedness and impure passions are the work of demons. But though they attack men, they cannot master them unless they fail to resist.

Fire unquenchable and everlasting punishment is the doom prepared for the Devil and his demons.

CHAPTER VIII

In the Scholastic Literature

WE SHALL NOW CONSIDER THE TEACHING UPON OUR SUBJECT GIVEN BY A number of illustrious scholars generally known as "Scholastics" or "Schoolmen."[1] They were philosophical and religious teachers who lived from the ninth century onwards. In the first period scholastic activity was devoted to the reconciliation of the claims of faith and reason. The voluminous writings of the Schoolmen were studied with profound veneration throughout the Church for many centuries. In the Roman Catholic branch of the Church some of them remain standard works to this day. By these writers Satan is taken very seriously, and he and his doings occupy a prominent place in their systems of religious philosophy. We shall note only the salient features of their teaching.

(1) *St. Anselm* (1033-1109), in his *Dialogue De Casu Diaboli,*[2] deals in a very subtle and profound way with the possible motives which can have led a former good angel of God to assume an attitude of hostility to Him. He asks, How do angels come to differ as good angels and fallen angels if all angels receive from God similar good qualities? Thus is raised the whole problem of the existence of evil in a universe made and controlled by a good God. It is agreed, Anselm says, that the good angels who stood steadfast in the truth did so because they had received from God a gift of steadfastness. If this gift was not received from God by the angel Satan, what is his fault in falling away, and how can he be condemned? If it be asserted that God did not give this gift to Satan because he would not accept it, then why would he not accept it? It must be either because he was unable or unwilling to do so But both the power and the will to receive the gift are themselves, *ex hypothesi,* the gift of God. If, therefore, the angel lacks either of these, must it not be because God did not give it? But why should the angel be said to sin if he

1 The subjects dealt with in the next three chapters are more fully treated by the present writer in his *Supernatural,* etc., pub. by Rider & Co. (1934).

2 See *Anselmi Opera* in Migne's *Patrologia Latina,* vol. i. (1863).

has not received either the power or the will which God has not given? Anselm's answer to this profound question is that God gave both the power and the will to the angel to persevere in the truth, but the angel did not continue to exercise his will in the right direction to the end. What he willed at first, he later ceased to will. But the question still remains, What brought about this change of will in the angel which became the Devil?

Anselm deals with this question with great argumentative skill. It would be tedious to attempt here to follow all the windings of his argument. But since this wrestling with a problem, which has never yet received a satisfactory solution, is Anselm's peculiar contribution to our subject, we may note the following.

Justice, according to Anselm, consists in a person willing what he ought to will. Injustice consists in willing what he ought not. Now it would seem that if the Devil received his will from God he could not will anything but what was just and advantageous. He sinned therefore by willing something good, which he did not possess, and which could bring an increase of happiness, but which he ought not to have willed at that time. By willing excessively something beyond what he had received, he extended his will beyond what was just. He wished to become like God beyond what God intended he should be. He thus placed his will above the will of God. Of his own free will the Devil ceased to will what he ought, and justly lost what he had.

In the course of his argument Anselm discusses many recondite questions, such as, Whether the angel Satan could return to justice; whether he knew he would fall; whether he knew the nature of his punishment. But to the main question, Why a good angel with a good will given him by God, abused that will by willing what God did not will that he should, Anselm gives no satisfactory answer.

We may note further that in *Cur Deus Homo* Anselm rejects the view of Origen about the possible salvation of the Devil, affirming that it is impossible for the Devil and his angels ever to be reconciled to God (cf. Book II, ch. xxi). Unlike so many of the previous writers, this famous theologian has little to say about demons.

(2) *Saint Bernard* (1090-1153) is more scriptural in his treatment of our subject, though he does not entirely exclude speculative questions. His teaching is to be found in scattered references throughout his sermons.[1] He affirms that the Devil and his angels fell from their former estate as good angels of God on account of their pride. As a punishment God cast them down in fierce anger. Unlike Anselm and previous writers, St. Bernard does not enlarge upon the cause of the fall of the angels. He is content to say that the angels were not impelled to evil by any force without themselves. He repeats the view that the fallen angels or demons inhabit the lower air. In their attacks upon men they are restrained by the good angels. Images of evil are presented to the minds of men by the evil spirits, just as images of truth and goodness are presented by good angels.

Christians, St. Bernard says, are continually assailed by the temptations of evil spirits. He fears that, unless the Lord shall guard him, when he leaves

1 See especially, *Sermons*, xvii, xxxiii, xxxvii, xxxix, xli, lxii, lxiv, lxix, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxxv; also *De consideratione*, Book V, lvi.

this world he will be intercepted by demons. But the soul of the true believer is kept safe by the grace of God and by a bodyguard of angels. In the end the Devil will be cast into inextinguishable fire.

In St. Bernard, as in other writers of this period, we find the idea expressed that by the fall of the Devil and his angels the numbers of the dwellers in heaven were diminished to a considerable degree, and God intends that the vacant places shall be taken by the redeemed souls of men (*Sermons* lxii; lxxvii).[1]

(3) In the writings of *Peter Lombard* (1100-1160) we have a much more elaborate treatment of our subject.[2] Few writers have ever exerted such a powerful influence over successive generations. He was one of the first doctors of theology in the University of Paris, and he became bishop of Paris in 1159. He is called "Master of Sentences," from his theological manual *Libri Quatuor Sententiarum*. This work for a long period served as the basis of theological literature throughout Christendom. Peter Lombard deals with every phase of the belief in good angels and demons in the profoundest way, and at great length.

According to this writer the angels were created in the higher or empyrean heaven, from which some were soon cast down because of their pride. He finds a reference to this event in Is. xiv. 12f. He takes this passage to mean that Lucifer, who was already in the empyrean, resolved to go higher still, to scale the height of God, and to attain to equality with God.

All the angels, Peter Lombard affirms, were created good, that is, innocent, though not yet righteous; for righteousness can only be attained by the free exercise of their power. As created beings, they were able to sin or not to sin. But soon after their creation some of the angels cleaved to God in love; others turned away from Him because of envy or hatred. Those who turned towards Him were illumined by the wisdom of God; those who turned away from Him were blinded. The former were so established by divine grace that they were no longer able to sin; the latter were blinded by their own desertion of God. In this way, some of the angels became righteous, the others unrighteous. The good angels were established in goodness by co-operating grace; the evil angels, having made their initial choice, became obdurate in sin for lack of co-operating grace.

Lucifer was the most eminent of all the angels. He belonged to one of the highest Orders of celestial beings. Various passages of Scripture are applied to him, in addition to Is. xiv. 12ff. Inspired by a sense of his greatness, he became haughty and proud, and resolved to make himself equal with God. Therefore he and all his companions in evil were cast down from the empyrean heaven into the gloomy air. He finds a reference to this event in Rev. xii. 3f.

The purpose of this casting down was for our trial, that is, for the sake of exercising us in virtue, in agreement with the apostle's statement in Ephes. vi. 12. For the demons, who are both spiritual and wicked, draw near to us in this turbulent air. They inhabit what is called heaven. For this reason the Devil is called "prince of the air" or of "the world," as in John xii. 31, xiv. 30,

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1 Cf. e.g. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?* Book, 1. xviff.

2 See the *Four Books of Sentences* in Migne's *Patrologia Latina, Works of Peter Lombard*, Book, II, chs. ii, iii, v, vi, vii; also *Commentary on the Psalms* and *Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul.*

xvi. 11. The demons are not allowed to dwell in the higher heaven, which is a very pleasant place; nor in the earth, lest they should trouble men overmuch. According to 2 Peter ii. 4 the gloomy air in which they dwell is like a prison to them. There they must remain until the day of judgement. At that time, as stated in Matt. xxv. 41, they will be thrust down into the eternal fire prepared for the Devil and his angels.

There are orders and ranks among evil angels, as among good angels. So long as the world endures angels will be set over angels, demons over demons, and men over men. There are major and minor superintendencies. Some are set over a province, others over a man, and others even over a vice. Thus we read of the spirit of pride, and of the spirit of luxury. This is because each is able to tempt men chiefly by that particular evil from which he is named.

Peter Lombard also discusses the question whether all demons are in the gloomy atmosphere, or whether some are already in the infernal regions. He thinks it probable that at least some of the demons descend every day into those infernal regions, and lead forth souls to torment them. It is possible, he thinks, that some demons are always in those regions, and that they take turns with each other in the tormenting of the souls of the wicked. That the souls of the wicked descend thither, and receive punishment there is evident from the fact that Christ descended into those lower parts that He might lead forth the righteous who were held there (cf. 1 Pet. iii. 19; iv. 6). If the righteous descended thither, much more did the unrighteous.

According to tradition, when Jesus led forth the righteous He left the wicked still in that place. It is held by some that Lucifer has been banished to those lower regions ever since the time when he tempted Christ and was conquered by Him; in which case he cannot now approach us to tempt us. This is how he explains the statement in Rev. xx. 2, 7, where it is said that when the thousand years are finished, Satan shall be loosed from prison, and shall go forth to deceive the nations. This will be during the time of the Antichrist when there will be great tribulation, as stated in Matt. xxiv. Peter Lombard admits, however, that some are of opinion that Lucifer has been forced to abide in those lower regions ever since the time when he fell on account of his sin.

It is interesting to observe how all these great teachers are linked together in their teaching, whether as contemporaries or in succession. True, there are variations. Some are more speculative than others. Some are content with brief allusions to Satan and his doings. Others enlarge upon the subject, and give free rein to their imagination. But despite this fact, we may say that by this time there is a body of teaching upon our subject which is generally familiar. It is handed down both by tradition and by writing. This fact will account for much when we come to study the relation of Satan to magic and witchcraft. Throughout Europe the same phenomena are reported to occur with a strange uniformity. This is no doubt largely due to the uniformity of Christian teaching upon the subject of the powers of evil, and to the use of a common questionnaire.

As an illustration of this dependence of teacher upon teacher, even when widely separated in space and time, we may notice how Peter Lombard refers to the teaching of Isidore of Seville concerning the powers of perception possessed by demons; and also to the teaching of Augustine upon the subject of the relation of demons to magic.

(4) *Albertus Magnus* (1205-1280) also treats our subject in a massive way. His work, however, consists very largely of discussions upon Book II of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and he is generally in agreement with this writer. I shall therefore consider his teaching more briefly.[1]

Albertus agrees with previous teachers that both higher and lower ranks were involved in the fall of the angels. Lucifer was chief of the revolting angels (cf. Is. xiv. 12), and drew after him a large number of other angels, who were attracted by his splendour and not coerced by his will. The sin of Lucifer was that he wished to attain to equality with God. From the empyrean heaven where he was he wished to ascend to the very throne of God. Pride, born of envy, was the first sin of the Devil.

Just when the angels fell he allows to be uncertain. It is certain, however, that they were created good, and that they fell into sin of their own free will. On account of their sin the revolting angels were cast down into the gloomy air where they will remain until the Day of Judgement. In the meantime they tempt men for their good. This is the benefit that God has brought out of the great evil of the fall of the angels: they exercise the saints in virtue. After the judgement, the sinful angels will be thrust down into the deeper darkness where they will be affiicted with perpetual fire. Among the evil angels, as among the good, there are orders and ranks, and also diversities of functions.

The main function of Satan is to tempt men to make war upon the good. He is inspired to do this by malice; lest men should attain to the happiness from which he himself has fallen.

As stated in the Gospels, demons enter into men and take possession of both bodies and minds. By the aid of demons the Magi work their wonders. These are real, and not merely pretence, as in the case of the magicians of Pharaoh. These wonders are still wrought by the co-operation of demons. They do not, however, involve any real creation. The wonders are wrought by means of the secret seeds which, in the beginning, were placed by God in the corporeal elements of this world. God alone can be called Creator.

(5) Of all the medieval teachers none has exercised a more lasting influence upon modern Christian teaching upon our subject than *Thomas Aquinas* (c. 1227-1274), whose works are still used as the most authoritative Compendium of Christian Theology in the Roman Catholic Church. With an amazing erudition he discusses every phase of our subject, and seeks to give an answer to every question.[2] I shall give only the leading points of his teaching.

Aquinas teaches that the Devil was formerly one of the pure angels of God: probably he was the very highest of all, and not, as some have suggested, the highest of the lower grade of angels set over the terrestrial order. He abused the power of free will which God has given to all rational creatures. He sought his own will, and desired to become as God. Other angels followed his example, and he induced these to become subject to himself.

These fallen angels or demons are defined as intellectual substances, just like the holy angels.

Different opinions are held as to whether the Devil sinned immediately after his creation, or after the lapse of some considerable time. Aquinas

1 See especially, *Summa Theologica*, Part II, Ques. xxi-xxxi.

2 See *Summa Theologica*, especially *Quaestiones* lxiii and lxix, cix, cxiv.

thinks it is more probable that the Devil sinned immediately after his creation. This, he says, is more in harmony with the teaching of the saints. The sin of the fallen angels diminished but did not entirely take away their knowledge. The knowledge which comes of grace was lessened, but their natural gifts remained. The will of the demons is obstinate in evil, and there is no hope of their salvation, contrary to the opinion of Origen.

The Devil and his demons dwell in the darksome atmosphere. Their operations are not altogether injurious to men; for they perform a useful function by tempting and testing the virtue of men. The demons are indeed impelled by malice to urge men to sin. God permits them to operate; but He overrules the situation and turns these demonic assaults to the good account of men. Sometimes the assaults of demons are even ordered by God, as when the lying spirit was sent to punish Ahab, king of Israel, as is asserted in 1 Kings xxii. 21ff. At these times they execute the Divine judgements. But by gifts of Divine grace, and by the guardianship of angels, God enables men to triumph in the fight.

The Devil makes use of the flesh and of the world as the instruments of temptation. Indirectly he is the cause of all our sins; for he it was who instigated the first man to sin, and the fall produced a proneness to sin in the whole human race. But all sins are not directly due to the Devil's instigation. Some arise from the corruption of the flesh, and man's free will is responsible. Even if there were no Devil, men would have the desire for food, and love, and such-like pleasures, even as Origen had pointed out (*Peri Archon* iii). Sin is often due to lack of self-control in these matters.

Demons cannot work miracles in the strict sense of the word. Strictly speaking, a miracle is something done outside the order of the entire created nature. God alone can work miracles in this sense. But the demons can do things which exceed human power and experience. If not real miracles, the work of demons are real things. For example, by the help of demons the magicians of Pharaoh produced real serpents and frogs. Again, the fire and storm which destroyed Job's servants and sheep, house and children were the work of Satan, as Augustine declares (*De Civ. Dei* xx). Demons cannot actually transmute matter from one form to another; but they can employ certain seeds that exist in the elements of the world, in order to produce effects similar to transformation, as Augustine affirms (*De Trin.* iii).

It must be admitted therefore, Aquinas says, that all the transformations which can be produced by certain natural powers can also be produced by the operation of demons, by the use of seeds, as mentioned above; as, for example, the transformation of certain things into serpents and frogs, which can be produced by putrefaction. But transformation, which cannot be produced by the power of nature, cannot be produced by the power of demons. The human body, for instance, cannot be changed into the body of a beast, or the body of a dead man be raised to life. And if at times this seems to happen by the operation of demons, it is not real, but only a semblance of reality.

Aquinas makes an interesting remark in this connection, which probably had considerable influence upon later conceptions. Apparent transformation, he explains, may happen in two ways. First, a demon can work on a man's imagination, and even on his corporeal sense, so that something seems to be otherwise than it is. Secondly, just as a demon can from the air fashion a body of any form or shape, and assume it, so as to appear in it visibly; so,

in the same way, he can clothe any corporeal thing with any corporeal form, so as to appear in it. He refers to what Augustine says upon this subject (*De Civ. Dei* xviii). Man's imagination, whether he is thinking or dreaming, takes the form of an innumerable number of things, and appears to the senses of other men, as it were, embodied in the semblance of some animal. This, however, is not to be understood as though the imagination itself, or the images formed, were identical with that which appears embodied to the senses of another man: but that the demon who forms an image in a man's imagination, can offer the same picture to another man's senses.

These ideas of Aquinas are later reflected in the theories by which some persons sought to explain the alleged transformations which took place in connection with witchcraft and vampirism.

CHAPTER IX

In the Monastic Literature

WE ARE NOW APPROACHING THE CLIMAX OF THE BELIEF IN THE DEVIL AND HIS demons. The most famous and authoritative teachers of the Church have proclaimed their faith in him. They have stated who he is and how he works. They have defined his nature, and described many of his activities. But though speculative thought has made pronouncements upon the subject far beyond those warranted by the simple data of Holy Scripture, the religious imagination has been kept within reasonable bounds. In the monastic literature, on the other hand, the religious imagination runs riot, and illusions and hallucinations, the products of diseased or strained minds, are set forth as objective realities.[1]

The retirement of the monks from the world, often in complete isolation, increased the opportunities for concentrating attention upon the spiritual realities of life—God, the soul, and the Power of Evil. The preoccupation of the monks with the doings of Satan and the demons is evident throughout the literature of the Middle Ages. Not even among primitive peoples do we find conceptions more materialistic than those which are found in the literature now under consideration. In dealing with literature which covers so many centuries, and with so many phases of belief in connection with our subject, the treatment must of necessity be very brief and selective. I cannot do more than present a few illustrations of many-sided beliefs which went far to make life a nightmare for unnumbered multitudes of people, and had tragic results in life and history.

It must be recalled that by this time belief in the Devil was interwoven with major theological conceptions. It may almost be said that belief in the Devil was held to be as fundamental as belief in God and Christ. Indeed,

1 For a much fuller treatment of this subject, with references to authorities. see the present writer's *Supernatural: the Doctrine of Spirits, Angels, & Demons from the Middle Ages until the Present Time*, p. 160ff. (Rider & Co., 1934).

Dr. G. G. Coulton remarks that it may almost be said that to the ordinary man during this period the Devil was a more insistent reality than God Himself.[1] For some centuries the theory had been developed that by his fall man and the whole world had become the Devil's property.[2] Though God was believed to be more powerful than the Devil, and the original Creator and possessor of man, it was held that He must not do injustice to the Prince of Evil who had now got man into his power. To get man back again—to ransom him—God must therefore satisfy the rightful claim of Satan. Something more valuable than the world must be given as a ransom for the world. This was the significance of Christ's death: it bought humanity back from Satan.[3] The atonement made by Christ was widely represented as a lawsuit between God and the Devil.

This view of the atonement was considerably modified, at least among the higher classes, by Anselm's theory of satisfaction;[4] but in popular theology the older theory till maintained itself with vigour. And it was held that though the world had been bought back by the atoning work of Jesus, it still remained very much in the Devil's power, until Christ's redemptive work had realized its purpose in the lives of individuals. Men were consequently very conscious of being under the domination of Satan, and believed themselves to be continually subject to the assaults of the legions of Hell.

To realize fully the mental and spiritual atmosphere in which men lived during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we should have to read very numerous works, such as the *Processus Sathanae* and the *Processus Belial,* which treat at length of the empire of the Devil, and his rightful claim upon the respect and service of men. This is often done in the form of dialogue in which Satan appears to be conceived as being almost on an equality with God. How crudely dualistic Christian thought was at this time we can see from the works of so great a thinker as Peter Lombard. In working out his theory of the atonement, he represents mankind as having fallen into the hands of Satan, the Prince of this World. What then, he asks, did the Redeemer do to our Captivator? He set His own cross as a mousetrap, and laid His own blood there as a bait!

In view of this authoritative teaching of the Church, it is not at all surprising that all classes of people, and the monks in particular, were obsessed by the thought of the hostile operations of Satan and the demons. The student of these matters would do well to study the historical works of Dr. G. G. Coulton in which he will find many citations from medieval works not now easily obtainable. The Devil and demons were now believed to have the power to assume all kinds of material forms. Rooks and sparrows might be demons incarnate. A single hermitage might be besieged by thousands of them, and Friars might be seen brandishing their sticks in the air, and driving them away like flies. And, still more horrible to relate, the Devil might disguise himself as an angel of light, or in an appearance of the Virgin Mary, and even of our Lord Himself.

One of the most complete handbooks of medieval demonology was composed by a disciple of Abbot Richalm, of Schöntal, in the Neckar valley, who

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1 See *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol i., p. 95 (1923).

2 A good *résumé* of this teaching is given in Dr. J. Scott Lidgett's, *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, p. 428ff, 4th Ed. (1897).

3 Cf. Coulton, loc. cit., p. 62.

4 See *Cur Deus Homo?* Book i, xxiii; Book ii, vi.

lived during the early thirteenth century.[1] All persons are not equally conscious of the presence of demons. To some people, and especially to monks and other saints, there was given the power of second-sight, which enabled them to perceive the presence of demons, frequently in bodily form. Abbot Richalm claimed to possess this power in a special degree. He sees demons riding like motes in the sunbeams, coming down like the rain, so that the whole air appeared to be thick with demons.

Holiness of life was not thought to afford any protection from the attacks of the Devil; though it might enable the saint to overcome them. Indeed, holiness only provoked Satan to greater fury, as in the case of Job. The Devil knows that the majority of men are safely in his possession. The saint, on the other hand, is bent upon escaping from his power. Naturally, therefore, he is the object of Satan's most malicious assaults.

Monasteries are said to have attracted swarms of demons. And of the persons inside, the Masters and Superiors are the special objects of attack. Every hindrance to the devotions of monks is traced to the hostility of demons. Demons lead the Abbot to nod and sleep in the choir; they close the eyelids and cause drowsiness.

The assaults of the Devil grow more intense at the most sacred times and seasons. Thus when the hour of Mass draws near the celebrant may be provoked to some fit of wrath or indignation. Or, again, he may be obsessed with troublesome thoughts. There is, in fact, no limit to the ingenuities of Satan and his demons in their attempts to obstruct the devotions of the saints. They cause scantiness of breath, weigh down the hands and feet; and snorting, coughing, and spitting are their work.

The reading of good books is particularly provocative of Satan's malignity. The demons loathe to see the Brothers reading their Rule, or the works of St. Gregory or St. Bernard. Abbot Richalm claims one day to have seen a demon carefully plastering up a lay-brother's ears, lest he should listen to the exposition of the Rule. The usual method, however, is to overwhelm the good brother with a sense of weariness.

All manner of sickness was of course attributed to the action of Satan and his demons. They were believed to cause attacks of headaches, indigestion, flatulence, and melancholy, as well as fevers and serious accidents. Demons creep into the teeth and make them ache. They swarm under the garments with the bodily semblance and blood-thirsty appetite of fleas!

The climax of the assaults of Satan came of course at the approach of death. Then it was that Satan made his final attempt to recover those who had been rescued from his power by the Redeemer, and with the aid of the Ministers of the Church. Many stories are told of the final struggle which took place as the saint lay upon his death-bed. To the saints attending the dying person a vision was not infrequently given of the hordes of demons waiting to bind the departing souls with burning chains. But some notable saints, e.g., Father Benedict, would intervene, and the soul be borne triumphantly to the realms of light.

We have already seen that according to the greatest teachers of the Church Satan and his demons can assume many different forms, and can actually work miracles, or what appear to be such in the eyes of men. It is repeatedly

1 It is entitled, *Beati Richalmi, etc., Liber Revelationum De Insidiis et Versutiis Daemonum adversus Homines.* For an account of it see Coulton : *Five Centuries of Religion,* vol. i, p. 35.

emphasized that magicians and conjurers owe their success to the inspirations of demons. The bizarre forms in which these evil powers can clothe themselves are referred to by Jerome. Even by that time there was a strange materialising of spirit beings.[1]

In the Monastic literature the belief in materialized demons is greatly developed. Demons are often said to have been seen in visible forms. In the judgement of the present writer it would be wrong to suppose that such statements are mere romance or fiction, in the sense in which these terms are understood to-day. Monkish chronicles were not compiled as works of imagination, but rather as sober records of actual happenings. And as such they were received and widely read. Men actually believed that they had both seen and heard demons. They also held that they had Scriptural warrant for their beliefs; for passages of Scripture which we have learned to explain in other ways were interpreted by them quite literally. Jesus, it was believed, was actually led by the Devil (in visible form) into the wilderness: the latter was as much in bodily form as the former. The Book of Revelation speaks of demon locusts and of demon frogs (Rev. ix. 1ff., xvi 13ff.), and people saw no reason to doubt that what had been seen once might be seen again, and still more frequently, since Satan had been loosed out of his prison (Rev. xx. 7).

It is now a well-known psychological fact that people often see what they believe it is possible for them to see. What is seen with the mind's eye only, is often mistaken for visible and tangible reality. Under certain conditions mental creations can easily be mistaken for creations of flesh and blood. The lonely life of the monks greatly favoured the fashioning of such mental creations. To the monks, absorbed in meditation upon spiritual realities—God, the soul, and Satan—the latter took on many forms, in accordance with the prevailing beliefs. We shall never correctly appraise the contribution made by medieval literature to our subject unless we recognize these facts.

In the interesting book concerning Abbot Richalm, to which reference has already been made, the titles of some of the chapters sufficiently indicate the popular belief in the visible appearances of demons; e.g., How demons trip up men (ch. xvi); How demons speak (ch. xvii); Demons assume forms congruous to their works (ch. xlix). There are many other chapters which treat of related subjects in great detail.

That the Devil himself frequently made his appearance in visible form is a commonplace of medieval demonology. One famous work of the period entitled, *Salimbene's Chronicle* (1221-1288) tells of a Friar to whom the Devil came habitually in the forms of Saints Francis, Anthony, Clare, Agnes, the Virgin Mary, and even of Christ Himself. Animal forms also were assumed by him.

Most of the *Lives of the Saints* in the Middle Ages contain stories of conflicts between men and demons in various forms. These must be read by anyone who would fully appreciate the nature of the belief in Satan at this period. One of the most vivid of these narratives is the *Vita S. Romualdi* by Petrus Damianus.[2] The period is the early part of the eleventh century. The author describes many fierce conflicts which the saint had with the Devil and demons in the various cells where he sought refuge from the world. These hostile powers assume many different forms; sometimes they appear as men,

1 See above, p. 60ff.

2 See Migne's Edition of *Latin Fathers*, vol 144.

somtimes as birds or beasts, and at others in forms which remain undefined. For instance, it is related that every night for nearly five years the Devil lay like a weight upon his feet and legs, so that he could scarcely turn in his bed. Often the Devil would come knocking at the door of his cell before he had the chance to fall asleep, and would keep him awake all the night. Sometimes he would appear in the likeness of an Ethiopian, at others he would take the forms of various animals.

On one occasion, while away from home, the saint allowed the use of his cell to one of his disciples. During the night the demons rushed upon him, threw him on to the floor, and left him half dead. When these assaults failed to achieve the object of frightening him away, the Devil adopted more visible forms of striking terror into his heart. He appeared before the saint in the form of a foul, hairy, horrible creature, and rushed madly upon him, threatening him with death. But the saint was still undismayed, and called upon Christ for help against the foul intruder. Whereupon the Devil struck the wall of his cell with such violence that the heavy boards were split for the space of a cubit or more!

A large number of such stories concerning the doings of Satan and the demons can be found in the famous *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach. This interesting work belongs to the 13th century.[1] It was written by a monk, and fantastic as the stories it contains now appear to us to be, we shall misconceive the point of view of the author if we fail to accept his work as purporting to be a record of fact.

In the Monastic literature we have the background of the conception of Satan in the operations of witchcraft, to a study of which we must now turn.

CHAPTER X

In the Literature of Witchcraft

THE BELIEF IN MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT HAS BEEN UNIVERSAL AND GOES BACK to the earliest period of which we can gain any knowledge. The earlier phases of the belief, as it existed among the Hebrews, the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, and other neighbouring peoples, has been dealt with by the present writer elsewhere. The references to the subject in the Bible are of great importance, since these were held to give Divine sanction to the belief, and thus largely determined the attitude of the Church to the perpetrators of Witchcraft for many centuries. The laws against Witchcraft led to indescribable cruelties and to a vast amount of bloodshed. Few pages in Church history are so tragic and lamentable as those which tell of the doings of her champions in relation to this phase of our subject.

(1) To estimate truly the character of Satan in any period it must be seen against the background of the popular beliefs prevalent at that period.

1 The work is entitled, *Caesarii, Heisterbacensis Monachi, Dialogus Miraculorum*. Ed. by Josephus Strange (1851). A similar work of the 11th century is one by Michael Psellus *Dialogus De Operatione Daemonium*. Migne, Pat. Graeca, No. 122, p. 818ff.

Practically every people has developed its own demonology; for every people has believed in good and evil spirits. The good spirits frequently develop into gods, and the bad spirits into demons. Thus the peoples of Babylonia, Egypt, and Persia developed a belief in demons which had a powerful influence on Jewish conceptions.[1] Largely through the influence of the Christian Church these beliefs gradually spread over all Europe. Already, however, a native demonology possessed the field. The mixture of beliefs which consequently took place provides the elements which now enter into the portrayal of the character of Satan in relation to Magic and Witchcraft. The whole subject has been treated by the present writer in the work to which reference has already meen made.[2] Here we must confine ourselves as far as is practicable to delineating the character of Satan.

At the period with which we are now dealing Satan is central to the group of beliefs which are associated with Magic and Witchcraft. These beliefs are of the strangest character. To-day they are often treated as if they were merely fictions. When we meet with them in historical novels we are apt to regard them as being the products of the writer's imagination. Or, if we are inclined to take them at all seriously, we think of them as having been highly embellished or elaborated. In fact, however, the beliefs in question were mostly seriously held by all classes of the people, and they dominated the whole outlook upon life. Nothing could be stranger than the phenomena that were believed to occur. The consequences of such beliefs were terrible beyond description.

Bodin, one of the most authoritative writers upon our subject during the sixteenth century, defines a sorcerer as "one who by diabolical means intentionally strives to achieve the end he has in view."[3] The emphasis is upon the word "diabolical": the sorcerer is the Devil's man. He has sold himself to the Devil, and does his bidding, or he operates by virtue of the help he receives from the Devil. For reasons which we cannot discuss here the female is more frequently in evidence in this connection: hence the term "Witchcraft." Another very influential writer defines the witch as, "one who can do, or seems to do, strange things beyond the power of art or ordinary nature by virtue of a confederacy with evil spirits."[4] The very essence of Witchcraft then consists of co-operation between the sorcerer or witch and the Devil. Reference is indeed sometimes made to a type of divination called "natural divination," in the operation of which the Devil does not appear. It consists of a knowledge of the secret forces and operations of nature. This, we hold, is a secondary and derived type of Magic, and is not dealt with here.

One of the most notable features of all witch-stories is the frequency with which Satan is represented as entering into personal relations with men and women. He is no longer conceived to be a mere spiritual being, whose dwelling is in the lower air or heaven. He still has the power to become invisible; but very often he becomes, or seems to become, a creature of flesh and blood, whether in human or animal form. He can be sensed by ordinary people,

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1 On the whole subject I may refer to the present writer's, *Good and Evil Spirits* (S.P.C.K. 1942).

2 See *Supernatural: the Doctrine of Spirits, Angels & Demons from the Middle Ages until the Present Time* (Rider & Co., 1934).

3 Cf. Bodin, *De La Démonomanie Des Sorciers*, p. 1 (1587).

4 Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 225 (1726).

and not only by those who have the gift of second-sight. People can converse with him.

The extent to which the Devil was thus brought into personal relations with men and women can only be appreciated by those who study an immense amount of literature relating to our subject. Only they can understand how real was the Devil and his demons, alike to the witches of those days, and to those judges, often the most eminent people of the day, who condemned them to the flames in vast numbers.

In the literature of this period Satan is often said to assume the form of a man; but the assumption of an animal form is also said to have been quite common. Many stories relate how he appeared in the shape of a bull, goat, dog, horse, sheep or cat.[1] However incredible and impossible such manifestations may now appear to us, we must always remember that they were intensely believed in by all classes of society less than three centuries ago.

No assertion is more frequently made in witch-stories than that the witches habitually gave themselves up to debauchery with the Devil, both in private, and at the great assemblies of the witches known as the "witches' Sabbat." The most authoritative writers are agreed upon the subject. In Bodin's work, already referred to, this question is discussed at length. This famous writer recalls Augustine's statement upon the subject (cf. *City of God,* Bk. xv), to the effect that copulation of the Devil with witches is so certain that it would be impudent to deny it. He points out that the same view is also maintained by Sprenger, Paul Grilland, St. Bernard, and by Thomas Aquinas. In Germany it was held that the fruits of such unions with the demons Incubes and Succubes was a race of children called *Wechselkind;* these were said to be heavier but thinner than other children.[2]

Few people give credence to such stories to-day; but there can be no question about the intensity of these beliefs in the days of which we are speaking. Attempted refutations of the alleged facts are a sufficient witness to the existence of these popular beliefs. How can we account for them? Partly they were due to the popular folklore, which was rampant throughout Europe, as throughout Asia, and in which stories of materialized demons were a commonplace. It must be remembered that the mutual relationships of human beings and animals were formerly much more intimate than they are to-day. Partly also they were due to the affirmations of the most authoritative teachers of the Church, who taught that Satan is a real personality, almost as omnipresent as God Himself, and able to manifest himself in any form he chooses. Another contributing factor was the creative power of the imagination. What are to-day recognized as illusions or hallucinations, portrayals of things which happen only in the mind, were at that time accepted as objective realities. In this realm nothing is too bizarre to be impossible, as we see in dreams and nightmare. Originally, of course, the nightmare was believed to be a veritable demon-monster. Imagination, working upon intense popular beliefs in demons—shared, as we have seen, by the most authoritative teachers and judges—is quite sufficient to account for most of the strangest phenomena associated with our subject.

One other element must be recognized. There is ample evidence that the supposed Devil was oftentimes a human being who acted the part of the

1 See e.g. Miss Murray, *The Witch-cult in Western Europe,* p. 61ff. (1921).

2 Cf. Miss Murray, loc. cit., pp. 173ff.

Devil.[1] Such an impersonation was easily possible, since those participating in the witches' Sabbat, as also on other occasions, commonly wore masks which represented various animal forms. The witches, however, never admitted the human character of the Devil.[2]

(2) We must note that the Devil is not usually represented as acting alone; though he is frequently spoken of as a ubiquitous personage. Often, however, mention is made of demons or imps who sustain a similar relation to Satan as good angels do to God. They are the instruments by means of which he executes his designs. In virtue of their relation to the Devil the witches were believed to have their "Familiars," that is, evil spirits closely related to themselves and which gave them assistance in the performance of their evil arts. Like Satan, these demonic Familiars could assume any form they chose; e.g., of dog, cat or toad. Innumerable stories are related concerning these diabolic associates of the witches. Many of them had peculiar names to which they were said to respond. A notorious Suffolk witch, e.g., was said to have an imp called "Vinegar Tom," and another called "Sack and Sugar." The famous witches of Warbois, executed in 1593, had many such spirits, some of which answered to the names of Pluck, Hardname, Catch, and Blew.

Certain of these spirits were spoken of as if they were friendly and favourite servants, and sometimes as if they were domesticated animals. Thus Calmet relates the story of a monk who was said to have a Genius or Familiar which performed all the functions of a servant, even to arranging his room and preparing everything for his return home after paying a visit.[3] Similar stories are found in the monastic literature, e.g., in the *Dialogus Miraculorum,* of Caesarius of Heisterbach. In the later Jewish literature likewise we read of Jewish Rabbis who were believed to have their attendant spirits, known as *Shed,* which is the Babylonian term for a demon. These also frequently received proper names.

These Familiars are often spoken of as sucking the Witches. How seriously this belief was held we can judge from statements made by Dr. Glanvil, Chaplain to King Charles II, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He gravely points out that we know so little of the nature of demons and spirits that it is no wonder that we cannot divine the reason for so strange an action. He recalls the fact, of which mention has been made above, that some of the greatest Christian teachers affirmed that spirits are nourished by the reeks and vapours of the blood of sacrifices.[4] This shows, he says, that they are not perfectly abstracted from all body and matter. He thinks it probable that the Familiar does not only suck the witch, but in so doing also infuses some poisonous ferment into her which gives her imagination and spirits a magical tincture whereby they become mischievously influential.[5]

In the later part of our period there were of course a few scholars who were a little critical of the many stories which were told about the doings of

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1 See e.g. Montague Summers, *History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, p. 6f, (1926); Miss Murray. loc cit., pp. 32, 186, 228.

2 Cf. Miss Murray, loc cit., 31ff., 47ff., 50, 61.

3 Dom Calmet, *Traité sur Les Apparitions des Esprits et sur Les Vampires*, etc. Vol. i., p. 258 (1751).

4 See above on Tertullian, p. 50f, and Eusebius, above, p. 57f.

5 Cf *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 10 (1726).

the Familiars of witches. Dr. Hutchinson was one of these. He expressed the view that they might largely be explained by the supposition that the witch-finders kept the people without meat or sleep for a considerable time until they scarce knew what they were saying. Then in order to secure some relief from their torments the witches told them tales of their dogs, cats and kittens.[1] He did not, however, think that such suppositions accounted for all the alleged phenomena. For he was a firm believer in the existence of spirits, and had a theory as to their nature and function in the scheme of things. He remarks that some people think that there are harmless spirits, in a kind of middle state between angels and demons. If so, he does not think it should be counted a capital offence to have communion with them. Others report concerning ludicrous and frolicsome devils. If such exist, he allows that they may do odd things, even to making sport of Courts of Justice.

On the whole, however, he inclines to a psychological explanation of the alleged phenomena. He declares that many a man has verily believed that he has seen a spirit *externally* before him when, in fact, he has only seen an *internal* image dancing in his own brain. In this way books have come to be full of stories of such-like facts, and no one can tell which of them are to be accounted for by real spirits, which by diabolical illusion, either within or without the brain; and which are the products of a strong imagination, without any spirits at all.[2]

After much research, Miss Murray is of the opinion that these stories of imps and animal Familiars have a real basis in fact. She distinguishes two classes of Familiars; namely, divining Familiars, presented to the Witch by the Devil: and domestic Familiars, which were sometimes handed down from mother to daughter, or passed on from one witch to another. In each case they were believed to represent the Devil, and to possess some of his power. For this reason they must have a place in any life-like portrait of Satan. There is considerable evidence to support her theory that they formed part of a witch-cult or pre-Christian religion, which survived for many centuries, especially among the common people.[3]

(3) The fact which made the witches so formidable, and caused their operations to strike terror into the hearts of high and low alike, was the profound conviction, shared by all parties, that they were in active co-operation with Satan, whose power was believed to be universal and all-but illimitable. Throughout Christendom, and by the most authoritative teachers, Satan had been portrayed as "the Prince of this World." For centuries it had been impressed upon the minds of men that he had the power to inflict upon men sickness and disease, and to torture them with cruel pains. He could blast the crops in the gardens and fields, cause fire and tempest, and do many other unpleasant things. No man was beyond his reach.

Moreover, it was believed to be possible for men and women to enter into such personal relations with Satan that they became possessed of his knowledge and power. The things he could do, they also could do. This close association of Satan and his instrument was achieved, it was held, by a formal compact, in which the sorcerer and the witch pledged themselves to be the loyal servants of Satan, and ever to do his bidding, in return for Satan's assistance. And it is important for us to notice that he whom the Christian

1 Cf. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft*, p. 92ff (1718).
2 Ibid, pp. 72, 118
3 Miss Murray, loc. cit., p. 205ff.

writers, who have left accounts of Witchcraft, called Satan and the Devil, the witches themselves called God. Satan was the god of the underworld of Christendom.

The compact with the Devil was made under various circumstances. Sometimes it was made in private, but more frequently it was made during a ceremony before a person was transported to the witches' Sabbat, or after arrival there. Such compacts are frequently mentioned in the accounts given of the trials for Witchcraft. The witches are usually said to have confessed to the compact, which is always said to have been written down in the blood of the person entering into the compact. On such occasions the Devil, it is claimed, imprinted upon his new recruit a mark, called the "Devil's Mark." The belief was probably based upon Rev. xiv. 9: "If any man worshippeth the beast and his image, and receiveth a mark on his forehead, or upon his hand . . ." (See also Rev. xvi. 2).

In the trials for Witchcraft much is said about this badge of loyalty to Satan. It was a secret mark, and often difficult to discover. It was frequently believed to be made in the secret parts of the body, and in such unlikely places as beneath the eyelid or under the armpit or under the tongue. It took many forms; it might be the foot of a frog or spider, the image of a hare, or a toad's leg, etc. The finding of anything that could be held to be the "Devil's Mark" was regarded as a sure sign of the practice of Witchcraft, and it invariably sealed the doom of its possessor.

The place where such a mark was found was believed to be entirely destitute of feeling, and bloodless when pricked. "Witch-pricking," that is, the pricking of witches with a pin or similar instrument in order to find this bloodless spot on any part of the body, became a gruesome profession, and inflicted the most horrible pains upon thousands of innocent people. Certain people claimed to have a special capacity for finding the "Devil's Mark," and these would travel round the country examining those people who were under suspicion of practising Witchcraft. One of the most notorious of these professional witch-finders was Matthew Hopkins who operated chiefly in the Eastern Counties.

It may be said in passing, that markings upon the body are quite commonly found to-day, and are admitted to have a perfectly natural origin. And, further, it is known that terror or shock has the power to stop the blood, or, as we say, to freeze it in the veins; a fact which would serve to accentuate the belief in the bloodless nature of the "Devil's Mark." But the existence of both these natural facts served, in the days of which we are speaking, to deliver countless innocent people into the hands of the tormentors and destroyers.

(4) We have seen above that the greatest teachers of the Church have stressed the fact that Satan has the power to assume a visible and material body, or a semi-material body. He can take any form he likes, of man, beast, or insect. A basis in Scripture for such a belief was found in the story of Christ's temptation, quite literally understood, and in the statement of St. Paul that Satan "fashioneth himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor. xi. 14). Confirmation of the belief was found in various passages of the apocalyptic literature, for instance, in the story, related in the *Books of Adam and Eve*, of how Satan appeared both in the likeness of a serpent and of an angel and tempted Adam. Jerome, as we have seen, gave the weight of his great

authority to the belief that Satan and the demons sometimes appeared to the saints in visible forms.[1]

At the point we have now reached this belief had been greatly intensified and elaborated; and this power of transformation or metamorphosis was now held to be shared by the witches, the servants of Satan. Strange and incredible as these stories seem to us, it must always be remembered that to the people of that time they were stories of fact not fiction. If we fail to keep this fact in mind, we shall get Satan's portrait in this period completely out of focus. The fact that some of the ablest theologians and philosophers of the period have left us elaborate arguments by which they attempted to prove both the possibility and the reality of these metamorphoses is conclusive. In addition, any number of cases can be cited in which accusations, supported by many reliable witnesses, resulted in the torture and death of the witch.

It was generally held that in virtue of their possession of an astral body persons who were wounded when possessing the form of an animal retained the wound when they recovered the human form. Instances are cited in which the possession of such tell-tale wounds resulted in the execution of the accused. Bodin relates numerous such cases. He tells, for instance, of three witches who, in the forms of three cats, attacked a labourer. He valiantly defended himself, and wounded and chased the cats. The witches were found in bed at home having resumed again the forms of women. But they still bore the wounds which had been inflicted on them in the form of cats.[2]

In one of the latest trials for Witchcraft in Europe, in 1749, a young nun in a convent at Würzburg was charged with having leagued with the Devil to bewitch a number of other young ladies in the convent. At the trial it was sworn that she had been seen to climb over the convent walls in the shape of a pig, and then resume her own form. It was also asserted that she used to prowl about the roof of the building like a cat, and that she had been seen in the shape of a hare milking the cows in the meadows which belonged to the convent. Upon such evidence she was condemned and burned alive in the market-place of Würzburg.[3]

(5) Closely associated with this phase of our subject was the belief in lycanthropy. As the name implies, it was held that certain men had the power to assume the form of wolves, and in that form they would prowl about and destroy both man and beast. All this was, of course, done in co-operation with the Devil. One of the most notorious instances was that of Gilles Garnier in the sixteenth century. He was accused of assuming the form of a wolf and devouring little children. He was indicted by Dr. Camus, doctor of laws, and Counsellor of the King of France. Fifty persons bore witness against him. He was put on the rack, made unreserved confession of his crimes, and was sentenced to be burnt alive on January 18th, 1573.[4]

Sprenger, one of the most famous writers upon the subject, in his treatise *Malleus Maleficarum* ("Hammer of Witches") discusses at great length how these strange things can be.[5] He admits that an actual metamorphosis of man

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1 See above, p. 60ff. 2 Bodin, loc. cit., p. 108f.

3 Cf. Mackay, *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions*, vol. ii., p. 311 (1852).

4 See Williams, *The Superstitions of Witchcraft*, p. 178ff (1865).

5 Cf. Part I, Ques. x., p. 141ff. (1582).

into animal and back again seems impossible. He concludes, however, that the Devil can so dispose the imagination that a man may seem to be a beast, both to himself and to others. In this case a bodily change does, in fact, take place, that of the countenance.

One would have thought that few men were so well qualified to deal with this subject as Bodin, who was a learned scholar, judge, philosopher and politician. He deals with this question in ch. VI of his second book. He recalls the fact that the Devil himself frequently assumes the form of a goat, and that devils are called goats in the Scripture; as in Is. xiii. 21. Here we read of "satyrs," the Hebrew word signifying "goat" or "hairy." He also refers to the two goats mentioned in Lev. xvi. He admits the difficulty of supposing that the human form was actually changed into that of beasts; but divine and human histories, together with the evidence produced at the trials of witches, render the proof certain. He denies the theory put forward by certain people, that lycanthropy is a malady of sick folk, which causes people to think they are wolves and to run into the woods. Strange as the fact is, he finds it still stranger that many people hesitate to believe it when all the peoples of the earth, and all antiquity, are in agreement about it.[1]

(6) In connection with Witchcraft, few things have lingered longer in the popular mind than the belief in the power of the witch to transport herself from one place to another in a mysterious fashion, without any of the usual means of locomotion. The belief in the Devil's power to transport people over great distances dates back to a very early time. It prevailed widely among the monks of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. We are told, for example, of a certain soldier who was transported to Jerusalem, Lombardy and elsewhere.[2]

In the trials for Witchcraft nothing is more frequently affirmed than that the witches, aided by the Devil, have a supernatural power of locomotion. It was by a swift flight through the air that the witches most frequently claimed to have reached their assemblies, known as the witches' Sabbat. The means of transportation through the air were various. They included a horse, a goat, a broomstick, or even men. All these means are said to have been employed in the Swedish epidemic of Witchcraft activity in the year 1670.

The absurdity of the belief in these supernatural feats of transportation should not be allowed to blind us to the fact that they formed part of the most deeply-rooted convictions of people generally at the time of which we are speaking. The strangeness of the phenomena sometimes caused people to ask questions even at that time; but not to disbelieve. Again and again the witches were questioned as to whether they were sure of a real personal transportation: and whether they were awake at the time it took place. They always answered in the affirmative. In some cases it was said that the Devil, in order to mislead the family while they were absent, would sometimes lay something down in their place in bed which resembled them. To the question, how they could pass through broken panes of glass, or through chimneys, they replied that the Devil removed every hindrance.[3]

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1 Bodin, loc. cit. Book 11., ch. vi., pp. 105 110a.

2 See Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Ed Strange, (1850), ch. xxxvii., p. 321. Cf. Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition, und Hexenprozez im Mittelalter*, pp. 137, 195, 207ff (1900).

3 See Hutchinson, *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft*, p. 125 (1718); Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 488f (1726).

In these days, of course, we readily suggest a psychological interpretation of all these strange phenomena. We find indeed that such an explanation actually occurred to certain investigators, even in those far-off days. The question was discussed whether these alleged levitations of witches were not merely flights of imagination. Dom Calmet tells of a certain witch who, under trial, claimed that she used to go to any place she wished, really and corporally. To prove or disprove the truth of her story the inquisitors ordered her to go to a certain place, to speak to certain persons, and to bring back news concerning them. She promised to obey their commands. Thereupon she was locked up in a room, where she lay as if dead. They then entered the room, placed a lighted candle near her, and even burnt her foot, but she showed no sign of feeling pain. When she returned to consciousness she gave the required information, saying that she had had a difficult journey. When they questioned her about the injury to her foot, which had been burned, she replied that she knew nothing of it. The inquisitors then told her that during her supposed journey she had never moved from the place where she was. Convinced by such overwhelming proof, she recognized her error, and begged for pardon.[1]

Such an explanation of the witches' alleged transportation was rarely accepted at that time. The witches themselves, the judges who tried them, and the writers who have left accounts of the doings of these dark days were, for the most part, quite convinced that by the help of the Devil the witches actually accomplished these flights through the air. Moreover, they found abundant support for their belief in the pages of Scripture and in the authoritative teaching of the Church. Sprenger, for example, contended that it was directly contrary to the word of God to ascribe these flights merely to imagination. He pointed out that the Devil took the Lord Jesus Christ and set Him upon a pinnacle of the Temple, and showed Him all the glory of the world. The prophet Habakkuk was said to have been borne through the air by the hair of his head.[2] The transportation of Habakkuk and of Jesus, which was appealed to by Sprenger in support of the actuality of the witches' transportation, was a subject that was frequently discussed by the Schoolmen, for example, by Albertus and Aquinas.

In support of the belief in corporal transportations Bodin cites the testimony of Augustine, Basil, and Origen, as also that of Aristotle, Plato, Plotinus, Iamblichus, Proclus, and Apuleius. He urges, therefore, that to doubt whether the Devil transports the sorcerers in bodily fashion from one place to another would be to make mockery of the Gospel history; for there it is related that Satan transported Jesus to the summit of the Temple and on to a high mountain. The greater and worthier part of the theologians, he says, hold that Jesus was veritably transported in body and soul, and not in soul only. The prophet Habakkuk and the apostle Philip were similarly transported; and if this was possible in the one case, it is possible in all.

Bodin maintained that further support for the belief was to be found in the transportation of Apollonius of Tyana, who was said to have been transported from Ethiopia to Rome, and from Rome to Corinth, as well as elsewhere.[3]

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1 Dom Calmet, *Traité sur Les Apparitions des Esprits et sur Les Vampires*, etc., Vol. i. cxix., p. 149 (1751).

2 This story is found in the *Additions to Daniel*, *Bel and the Dragon*, verses 34f. Cf. Ennemoser, *History of Magic*, vol. ii., p. 160 (1854).

3 Bodin, loc. cit., p. 94a, 95a, 99a, 100b.

The phenomena of levitation are well-known features in the hagiology of the Church. It is no wonder, therefore, that since the figure of Satan has grown to so great a size he should be credited with this supernatural power to transport his agents to whatever place he wishes them to be. He is the great rival of God, the Prince of this World.

In sketching this outline of the character of Satan through all the ages, it is no part of our purpose to treat in detail so vast and intricate a subject as Witchcraft, the literature of which is immense. It must suffice to have indicated the main outlines of the portrait of Satan, according to the beliefs which dominated Christendom at this time. We have seen that the towering figure of Satan is now a composite one. The original idea of Satan, the angel-minister of Yahweh, as exhibited in the Old Testament, has almost disappeared. In its place we have the Satan of the apocalyptists, a fallen angel, and the prince of demons. In the course of development his character has taken on ever darker hues. This was largely due to the belief in evil spirits which dominated the neighbours of Israel in pre-Christian times. This influence is seen sporadically even in the Old Testament, but much more extensively in the New Testament. The Early Church was a composite society, or rather a series of groups of composite societies, which were formed in all the countries of the Mediterranean world. Each made a contribution to the thought-world which in varying degrees affected the dominant Christian belief. We have noticed the growing belief in the materialisation of demons. It came to be believed that they can assume any form they like, and accomplish things which are apparently miraculous.

The great teachers and philosophers of the Church, learned in pagan as well as in Christian literature, made a very definite and permanent contribution to the conception of Satan. They sought to explain the presence of good and evil in the lives of men, and in the world at large. The figure of Satan lay ready to their hand. It was for them a supernatural figure, whose existence and activities had been the subject of Divine revelation, alike in the Old Testament and the New. Dualistic tendencies in Eastern beliefs, such as we see in Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, wedded together with the widely-held Christian doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, naturally resulted in the aggrandizement of Satan. The whole world was believed to lie in his power. God could not redeem the world unless He first satisfied Satan's rightful claims.

Finally, in Witchcraft we have seen how these beliefs, everywhere taught in the Christian Church, became interwoven with a vast underworld of superstition which prevailed throughout Europe during the early Middle Ages, and indeed survived to a much later time. A good account of this amalgam of primitive, or at least very ancient, teaching has been given by Miss Murray in the work indicated. The result was terrible beyond description, and it left a permanent impress upon the mind of Christendom. Even the Reformation, as we shall see, failed to get rid of the incubus of the medieval conception of Satan.

CHAPTER XI

In Post-Reformation Literature

THE REFORMATION WHICH, IN SO MANY DIFFERENT WAYS, DEEPLY AFFECTED the beliefs of the Church, left the belief in Satan practically untouched in the Reformed Churches as in the Roman Church. The trials for Witchcraft, and the hangings and burnings of its wretched victims, continued until near the end of the seventeenth century. The last execution of witches in England is believed to have taken place about the year 1682. In Scotland the last sentence of death was passed in 1722. But this is not to say that the beliefs associated with Witchcraft had disappeared. There is, on the contrary, plentiful evidence that they still continued to flourish among the lower strata of the people. Criminal procedure, however, against suspected witches was abolished during the reign of George II, and the epidemic of Witchcraft gradually died away.

The belief in Satan, as we have seen, was quite independent of the medieval belief in Witchcraft, and it remained unaffected when people took a more reasonable view of the alleged activities of sorcerers and witches. It was based upon Scripture, and supported by the most authoritative teachers of the Church from the first century onwards. No one as yet thought of challenging the doctrine of Satan; and for centuries the conception still continued to hold a prominent place in the teaching of all branches of the Christian Church. It is with this theological and philosophical conception of Satan that we are here now mainly concerned.

(1) In the Roman Catholic section of the Church the belief in Satan continued to hold its sway after the Reformation as before. This was, of course, inevitable in view of the avowed principles of Roman Catholicism. The principle of *Semper Eadem* does not allow of any serious modification of theological beliefs. The teaching of the great Scholastics, and especially of Thomas Aquinas, still stands as summarising the Roman Catholic doctrine of Satan. It is held, therefore, that the teaching of the Church, and of the Holy Scripture, leaves no possible doubt that Satan exists, together with a great number of evil spirits, which carry out their malign operations against men under his supreme direction. It is held that the Devil and his demons (or his "angels") were originally created good. They fell into sin soon after their creation, and certainly before the fall of man. It is thought probable that sin originated in one of them, and that he led the others into revolt.

Hints are found in Scripture that the leader of this revolt was Satan, one of the highest angels of God. It is held to be theologically certain that the first sin of the angels was pride. By their sin they became completely depraved and corrupted. They were doomed to eternal damnation, and remain without hope of salvation. We have seen that on the latter point Origen diverges from the traditional view. Already they suffer punishment for their misdoings, as is taught in 2 Pet. ii. 4. They were cast down to Hell where they are reserved unto judgement. This does not, however, mean that they are altogether prevented from conducting operations against men. They are not

continuously confined to the "place of torments." They are able to roam about amongst men, and seek to bring them under their power. We have seen above that the source of this teaching is not so much Holy Scripture as the Jewish apocalyptic literature.

The activities of Satan to-day are such as have been described in the previous chapters. He has the power to inflict physical as well as moral and spiritual sufferings upon men. Idolatry was and continues to be due to the operations of Satan and his demons. He still seeks to establish a cultus and to destroy the religion of Christ, especially as this is expressed in Catholicism. On account of his possession of superior knowledge and power Satan can do things which appear to be miraculous. He can foretell future contingent events. He works through special mediums, like the girl with the "spirit of divination" (Acts xvi. 16). Antichrist will be an agent of Satan in a supreme degree. The existence of Sorcery, Witchcraft, and Necromancy is held to be historically and dogmatically certain.

In the phenomena of demon possession we see Satan making his most daring attempt to achieve control over the lives of men. Though these phenomena were more frequent during Christ's stay on earth, and shortly afterwards, they have continued in a measure in all ages, and they still remain. In "possession" the Devil disputes man's control over his body, and, for a time, acts as if he were the soul, or as if the body were his own. This fact of possession is so clearly maintained in Holy Writ and tradition that its existence cannot be denied without heresy.[1]

It is also taught that devils are still sometimes permitted by God to affect the forces of the natural world, so as to raise storms and to produce distempers in the bodies of men. Before Satan was bound, and his power curbed by the triumph of Christ and the influence of the Gospel, the empire which the Devil and demons exercised on earth was much greater than now. But though in a diminished degree, the operations of Satan still continue. Clear proofs exist, it is held, that God sometimes permits corporal possessions; that is, possessions in which the Devil seizes on some of the corporeal organs and senses of the human body: and also obsessions, in which certain images are presented to the eyes or imagination with invincible obstinacy.[2]

The reality of demoniacal possession is fully maintained by modern Roman Catholic writers, as we see from the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.[3] Dr. Montague Summers has much to say upon the subject in confirmation of the traditional view.[4] In his great work, however, in the view of the present writer, the phenomena associated with Modern Spiritualism are unwarrantably interwoven with the traditional belief in the Devil and in demon possession.

(2) The radical changes in Christian doctrine brought about at the Reformation produced no immediate effects in the Reformed teaching upon our subject. Martin Luther (1483-1546) was a thorough-going believer in the existence and activity of the Devil and demons. Not only did he accept the Scriptural teaching upon the subject, as is manifest to every reader of his

1 Cf. Wilhelm & Scannell, *Manual of Catholic Theology*, vol. ii., pp. 16-20; 37-39; Kent in *Catholic Encyc.* vol. iv., p. 711ff.

2 Cf. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iv., p. 18b.

3 Cf. Vol. iv. Art. "Demoniacs," by W. H. Kent, p. 711ff.

4 Cf. *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, pp. 198ff (1926).

works; he also unquestioningly accepted most of the crude beliefs which had grown up during the Middle Ages. It was inevitable that in this respect he should be a child of his time. We shall notice only a few interesting features of his teaching.

Luther believed that Satan was, in a very real sense, lord and possessor of the world. Once he was a fair creature of God, but on account of his rebellion he was cast down to Hell. Jesus, he says, pictures him as a giant who keeps a castle. He has not only the world in possession; but he fortifies it that no human creature can take it from him. And just as a castle held by a tyrant can only be won by a stronger giant, even so mankind must be delivered and regained from the Devil by Christ.

The Devil works his will among men in all manner of ways. He, and the demons under his control, operate through the power of nature. They dwell in the woods, in waters and desert places. They are in the clouds which cause hail, lightnings and thunderings, and which poison the air, the pastures and the grounds.

Luther emphatically affirms that the Devil causes all manner of sicknesses and plagues. He is the prince of death. All grave infirmities are blows and strokes of the Devil. He poisons the air. He affrights people in their sleep with many dreams and visions. He causes people to walk in their sleep, often leading them in dangerous places, so that if they were not preserved by loving angels they would be dashed to death.[1]

Satan also afflicts men with melancholy and with delusions. He is so crafty a spirit that he can ape and deceive our senses. He can cause people to think they see something which they do not see, and to suppose that they hear things which they do not hear. For instance, he often vexes and harasses the workmen in the mines. He makes them think that they have found new veins of silver which turn out to be mere illusions.

In common with all the people of his time, Luther was a whole-hearted believer in Witchcraft and Magic, and gave credence to the strangest phenomena. The editors of the *Table Talk*, under date August 25th, 1538, relate that the conversation fell upon witches, which spoil eggs, milk and butter. Luther affirmed that he would have no compassion upon witches, but would burn them. The Devil, he said, is the master of the witches, and their operations amount to high treason against the Divine Majesty, and a revolt against the infinite power of God. They are therefore worthy of death.[2]

Luther regarded Magic also as a terrible reality, and as a product of the Devil's power. He tells, for example, how the Emperor Frederick once invited a necromancer to dine with him, and by his knowledge of Magic he turned his guest's hands into griffin's claws. He then wanted him to eat; but the man was ashamed, and hid his claws under the table. Soon, however, his guest took his revenge. He caused a noise to be heard in the court-yard, and when the Emperor put his head out of the window to see what was the matter he, by magic art, clapped on him a pair of huge stag's horns, so that the Emperor could not withdraw his head into the room again until he had cured the necromancer of his disfigurement![3]

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1 Cf. Luther, *Table Talk* (Bohn's Library) cclxiii, cxciii, dlxxiv, dxcvi, dxcvii.

2 Ibid. dlxxxi. 3 Ibid. dlxxix.

One is tempted to regard the stories of Magic and Witchcraft, of which the above is by no means the strangest, as illustrations of the sombre humour of the great reformer. After-dinner speeches often contain "tall" stories which are not to be taken too seriously. There can be no doubt, however, about Luther's hearty belief in the Devil and in his capacity to work apparent miracles. As we have seen, the belief had come down the centuries with the support of the greatest teachers of the Church; and, so far, there had been few, if any, to cast discredit upon it. It must be remembered that at one time Luther was a monk, and we have already remarked that a monk's concentration of attention upon spiritual realities, under conditions of ascetic loneliness, seems to have conduced to what we may call the objectivication of imaginations or hallucinations. This is the best way of explaining the many strange stories of visible and material forms of the Devil and of demons which were rampant in the Middle Ages.

The famous story of the ink-marks on the wall of one of the rooms of the castle of Wartburg, said to have been produced by Luther throwing the ink-stand at the Devil, is held by some authorities to be apocryphal, but there is nothing improbable in the alleged incident. It is in perfect accord with the beliefs shared by Luther, in common with all the people of his time. Many stories could be cited to show that Luther very readily believed in visible apparitions of Satan.

He tells, for example, the story of one man who put Satan to rout by spitting at him; of another who, when the Devil presented himself to him, his head furnished with horns, tore off one of his horns. Another man, however, who, with less faith, attempted the same thing, was killed by the Devil.[1]

Another story relates to a certain musician who complained to his Minister that the Devil had threatened to carry him off. The Minister and other pious men kept guard over the unfortunate man, fastening the doors and windows to prevent him from being carried away. At length the musician said, "I feel that Satan cannot harm my soul, but he will assuredly remove my body." That very night, despite the doubling of the watch, the Devil came in the shape of a furious wind, broke the windows, and carried off the musician, whose body was found next morning, stiff and black, stuck on a nut-tree. "'Tis a most sure and certain story," added Luther.[2]

Luther was, of course, a great believer in demon possession and exorcism, and had much to say upon these subjects. He distinguishes two kinds of possession, corporal and spiritual. Those whom the Devil possesses corporeally, like mad people, he has the power to vex and agitate, but he has no power over their souls. Those possessed by the Devil spiritually are the impious who persecute divine doctrine. These are in a more hopeless case. They cannot be delivered. Like Annas and Caiaphas, and other impious Jews, they remain Satan's prisoners.

Only the power of God, Luther affirmed, can deliver those who are corporeally possessed from the power of the Devil. Romish rites and ceremonies, he declared, are insufficient. Faith and prayer are needed to call into operation the power of God.

1 *Table Talk*, dxci. 2 Ibid. dcxxviii.

Although Luther attributed all kinds of physical ailments and plagues to the action of the Devil and demons, unlike certain people of his time, he believed in the use of physic, even when sickness had a spiritual origin, holding that God works by such means.

(3) In his demonology *John Calvin* (1509-1564) differs much from Martin Luther. In particular, he leaves behind those crude medieval ideas about Satan which have been permanently enshrined in the writings of the earlier reformer, and confines himself almost entirely to the Scriptural teaching. Calvin was, however, just as firm a believer in the existence of Satan as Luther, and he has given him a considerable place in his system of teaching. It should be observed that in all his works Calvin treats the Bible as a text-book, each part of which is of equal divine authority. Teaching found in the Book of Job, for instance, is on the same level of authority as the teaching of Jesus and His apostles. The Reformer was, of course, not alone in this respect; such a static conception of Scripture was the usual one at that time, and for many years later. But as a dogmatic theologian, and as an unrivalled systematiser of Christian truth, Calvin was largely responsible for fixing the doctrine of Satan in the form in which it has come down to us.[1]

Calvin points out that the teaching of the Bible upon our subject is severely practical, and is intended to serve a devotional purpose. It does not purport to give complete information upon all questions relating to the mystery of iniquity.

The Devil, according to Calvin, was created by God, and therefore malice does not belong to his nature as created. He became what he is by turning himself away from God. Thus Jesus declares that when Satan tells a lie (John viii. 44) he speaks of his own, and He gives as the reason for this that he "stood not in the truth." It is to be inferred from this that at one time he was in the truth. Again, when Jesus calls Satan the father of falsehood he takes from him any excuse to impute his evil to God, of which he is the sole cause. To those who complain that Scripture does not relate in detail how the fall of the devils came about—its cause, manner, time and nature—Calvin replies that it is not needful for us to know these things. It is not becoming that the Holy Ghost should seek to satisfy our curiosity by relating vain and fruitless stories. Jesus only teaches us what may be for our edification.

As to demons, it is sufficient for us to know that they were created angels of God. In turning from their origin they brought ruin upon themselves, and became the instruments of perdition to others. This is clearly shown us by Peter and Jude (2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude verse 6). From St. Paul's reference to "elect" angels (I Tim. v. 21) we may infer the existence of reprobate angels.[2]

Despite his malice, Satan can only act by the will and permission of God, as we see from the Book of Job (i. 6; ii. 1). Therefore, when we say that Satan resists God, and that his works are contrary to God, we understand that this contrariness does not exist without God's permission. The Devil, of course, is not inclined to obey the will of God, but rather to resist Him. But since God holds Satan by His power, he cannot execute anything but what pleases Him. Thus it is that even against his own will the Devil serves his

1 For references to Calvin's teaching see his *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (Baumgartner, Geneva, 1888).

2 Cf. *Institution*, etc., Book I, ch. xiv. 16, p. 80a.

Creator; he is compelled to employ himself wherever the good pleasure of God determines.[1]

Many exhortations are given to the saints to resist Satan (cf. Ephes. iv. 27; 1 Pet. v. 8). St. Paul admits that he has to do warfare with Satan, and tells us that the angel of Satan was sent to humiliate him (2 Cor. xii. 7). All God's children have to engage in this warfare; but despite all fears and sufferings they gain the final victory (cf. Rom. xvi. 20; John xiv. 30; Lk. x. 18).

Calvin seeks to refute those who say that good angels are nothing but good aspirations or movements which God produces in men; and that, on the other hand, the devils are merely evil affections which are suggested by our flesh. Plain testimonies of Scripture are against this view. The names by which they are called—evil spirits and apostate angels, who have declined from their first nature—sufficiently express the fact that they are not mere movements or affections of the heart, but rather spirits having intelligence.

So also when Jesus Christ and St. John compare the children of God with the children of the Devil, the comparison would be inept if the name "Devil" signified only evil inspirations (cf. John viii. 44; I John iii. 10). In like manner when St. Jude declares that Michael the archangel disputed with the Devil concerning the body of Moses (Jude verse 9), just as he places a good angel on the one side, so he sets an evil angel on the other.

Furthermore, certain passages speak of the pain which the devils have already begun to endure, and which they will have to endure in greater measure after the day of resurrection (cf. Matt. viii. 29; xxv. 41; and also 2 Pet. ii. 4). Calvin maintains that such forms of speech would be improperly applied to mere evil inspirations. Those who maintain these novel ideas, he asserts, are fantastic people.[2]

The Devil must therefore be accepted as a real evil spirit. He is the head of the principality of evil. Just as the Church and the company of the saints have Jesus for chief, so also the host of wicked ones is described as having its prince who exercises lordship over them (cf. Matt. xxv. 41). Scripture informs us that we have not to do battle against one Devil only; but against a great number. Mary Magalene is said to have been delivered from seven devils (Mk. xvi. 9). A single man is said to have been possessed by a legion of devils (Lk. viii. 30). Jesus Himself speaks of an unclean spirit taking to himself seven other spirits (Matt. xii. 43ff.) and entering into a man.

(4) In carrying out the principles of the Reformation the leaders of the English Churches avowedly drew their inspiration from the two great Reformers of whose demonological beliefs we have given a brief outline above. The belief in the Devil, and in the demons which operate under his command, was taken over in its entirety. None of the Churches which took their rise at this period has ever drawn up any authoritative body of teaching upon our subject, such as we have, for example, in the *Institutes* of John Calvin. Orthodoxy, of course, demanded a belief in Satan and his evil spirits, but in the absence of formulated articles, expositors were left to make as much or as little of the teaching on this subject as they were inclined to do. For the most part, however, they simply followed the traditional teaching, and in many cases coarser medieval beliefs continued to appear side by side with the more biblical teaching.

1 Ibid. Book I, ch. xiv. 17, p. 80b.

2 Ibid. Book I. ch. xiv. 19, pp. 81b, 82a.

For the reasons indicated, in sketching the beliefs upon our subject which prevailed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we can only turn to representative teachers who are known to have exercised great influence over the minds of a large number of Christian people.

As a representative teacher of the English Church we may take *Joseph Hall* (1574-1656), one of the most famous of the English bishops, and a man of great devoutness, learning and energy. Bishop Hall had much to say about Satan and his manifold operations.[1]

Satan, according to this writer, was the leader of the revolting angels. Why good angels should have revolted from a good God he cannot fully explain. He can only say that being made free, and having power over their own free inclinations, the free inclinations of some of them swayed them away from that highest end at which they should have aimed. The particular grounds of their defection and ruin it is neither necessary nor possible for us to know. In all probability a superior angel led the revolt and millions sided with him. The result is that the air is full of these malignant spirits which lay snares for miserable men.

The power of these evil spirits is immense, and the variety of their operations baffles description. They beguile the senses, mock the imagination, work strongly by philtres upon the affections, assume the shapes of man or beast, inflict torments upon the body, convey strange things insensibly into it, transport it quickly from place to place, and frame hideous apparitions. Volumes, he says, could be written upon each of these things out of history and experience.

The knowledge of demons is equal to their power. Though they do not share the divine illuminations, they have so large a knowledge that they have a great advantage over us. Moreover, they have thousands of years' experience, and their motions are so swift that we have good reason to tremble at our danger.

Usually the demons are invisible; but they have frequently assumed various shapes, and there have been many visible apparitions of demons to men. Sometimes they have appeared in animal forms, at others in the shapes of men, both living and dead, and even of good angels. The good bishop is quite willing to believe that many frauds have been intermingled with the accounts of these apparitions. But if we deny the truth of all, he says, we may as well deny that there were men living in those ages before us.

In illustration of the fact that medieval ideas of Satan still lingered in England as elsewhere we may mention the account which the bishop gives of a visible apparition of the Devil to a young girl, which is alleged to have taken place in the year 1545. The story is much too long to be re-told here in full; we therefore give only the bare outline. At the early age of five years, it is said, the girl was shut up in a convent. Very soon an evil spirit, in the form of a blackamoor, foul and hideous, presented himself to her. She was horrified at the apparition. By means of fair speeches and promises, however, she was induced to have fellowship with him. When she reached the age of twelve or thirteen, the Devil asked her to marry him. For her dowry, he promised that for thirty years she should live in fame and honour on account of her reputation for sanctity. Indeed, she should become the wonder of all Spain.

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1 See Bishop Hall, *Works*, vol. vi., p. 486ff.

In order to mislead the community, when the Devil was conversing with Magdalen, he used to delegate one of his demons to appear in the place and person of the girl, in the Church, and in the cloister, and at various meetings. The apparitional form maintained a marvellous appearance of gravity and devotion. So greatly did Magdalen impress her associates with her ability and sanctity that she was chosen to be the abbess of the convent.

At last, however, this notable fraud of the Devil was exposed. Magdalen became filled with remorse at her misdoings. She confessed to the visitors of her Order. The whole process was sent up to Rome whence she eventually received absolution.[1]

We shall miss the whole point of the story if we regard it as fiction, intended to teach a moral. The bishop relates it as a record of literal fact. It was too well known to the world, he affirms, to admit of either denial or doubt.

The bishop was, of course, a whole-hearted believer in Witchcraft, which, he declared, could only be accounted for as the result of devilish operation.

(5) The testimony of *Richard Baxter* (1615-1691) brings us to the last decade of the seventeenth century. Famous alike as puritan and saint, and the writer of many volumes, few men of his period have exercised so wide-spread and so permanent an influence upon later ages. His *Saint's Everlasting Rest* is still a great devotional classic. So serious and high-minded a man can be held to be free from any suspicion of romancing upon our subject. So extensive was his influence, and so intimately connected was he with the various parties in the Church that he may with justice be held to represent general Christian beliefs on demonology during his century.

In his demonology Baxter was a follower of Luther rather than of Calvin. So far as Scripture teaching is concerned, his views seem to have harmonized with those of Calvin. But like Luther he absorbed and transmitted many medieval beliefs relative to the activities of Satan which prevailed among the people of his own time. He has much to say about apparitions of the Devil, or of apparitions caused by the Devil and his demons.[2]

In his various works, Baxter comments upon most of the biblical allusions to Satan and evil spirits. In one passage he enumerates no fewer than thirty-one different expressions found in the Bible as descriptive titles of the Devil. He speaks at length about demon possession, as described in the Gospels, and maintains that the same phenomena have occurred in all ages, and that they were widespread in his own day. Most of the strange occurrences which are familiar to the students of the phenomena associated with Modern Spiritualism were firmly believed in by Baxter; but he attributes them to the action of the Devil and his demons.

As might have been expected in the case of so pious and learned a man, the subject is not dealt with superficially, but in a thorough-going fashion. He cites most of the great authorities who have dealt with the subject from the days of Augustine onwards.

The fierce unnatural temptations which come to men he regards as a proof

1 Ibid. *Works*, vol. vi., p. 496ff.

2 For references, see Orme, *Works of Richard Baxter*, in 23 vols. (1839); also Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, etc. (1691).

of the reality of Satan. Moreover, he has no doubt that visible apparitions of Satan had taken place in the past, and that they were by no means unknown even in his own day. He gives many illustrations. He tells, for example, of a "pious credible person," then living in London, who had told him that as she passed through a room at midday, the Devil stood before her in the shape of a big black man. He pointed to the top of the door, and tempted her to hang herself. He stood there for nearly a quarter of an hour, and then vanished away. Anyone who cares, he says, can go to London, and hear her credible and confident account of the incident.[1]

He relates also the story of "an ancient understanding and credible man" who had very recently told him of his experience of "divers sensible molestations of the Devil." As he lay in bed, his feet had been lifted higher than his head. In the open daytime, too, as he had gone about his own house, a blow had been struck him in the face, as hard and plain as any man's hand could strike him; indeed, so hard was the blow that it left the place black and blue, visible to the sight of all.[2]

He credits likewise the story of a certain necromancer, named Dr. Pordage, who apparently held seances at his house, and who confessed that the Devil was a familiar visitor there. In his great room the Devil appeared to him by night in the likeness of a fiery dragon, which almost filled the room, and engaged him in long conflict. Once the Devil made the likeness of a coach drawn by tigers on the brick wall over his chimney. This was so deeply impressed that they were compelled to use a pick-axe to cut it out of the bricks. The same impression was made on the glass of the windows, and they could not wash it out. This, however, Dr. Pordage attributed to a returning spirit raised up by the Devil.[3]

Throughout Baxter's works, we may remark, demonology and necromancy —the raising up of the dead to life, in some sense—are very closely intertwined. He argues that if Satan was concerned only about his own honour he would naturally speak in his own name. But he seeks more than the honour of domineering; he aims at the ruin of the party with whom he deals. He, therefore, personates the dead; his usual appearance, Baxter says, is in the shape and name of some deceased person, affirming himself to be the soul of such an one. He even pretends to be an angel of light. Even when he makes a compact with witches, it is seldom so plainly and directly that they understand it is indeed the Devil with whom they are dealing.[4]

Baxter had no doubt about the reality of Witchcraft. He expresses surprise that anyone should even doubt that witches exist, and that they work by the power of the Devil. He affirms that there were too many instances lately existing among them, in Suffolk, Essex, Lancashire, and elsewhere, in which scores of poor creatures have been put to death, for there to be any doubt about the matter. The raising of storms by witches had been attested by so many witnesses that it was needless to recite them. The concubitus of the devils with witches was so well evidenced that it could not be denied.[5]

(6) The life of *John Wesley* (1703-1791) covers practically the whole of the eighteenth century. Owing to the widespread influence he exerted he

1 Cf. *World of Spirits*, p. 38 2 Ibid. p. 40 3 Ibid. p. 176

4 Idem, *Works*, vol. xxii., p. 327. 5 Idem, *World of Spirits*, pp. 102f., 105.

may with good reason be held to represent the prevailing view in the Anglican Church, of which he was a member, as well as other Christian communities outside its borders. Few lives ever lived have been so closely examined or so often portrayed as that of this great evangelist. In his Diaries and Letters, and in his famous Journal he has laid bare his most intimate thoughts. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that so great a teacher and preacher, so keen a logician and so close an observer of human nature, should have been so credulous as to accept so many stories of apparitions or ghosts, and should have been so whole-hearted a believer in the Devil and in Witchcraft. Those who have read the previous pages will no longer feel surprise at Wesley's attitude to our subject. He stands in a great succession, and receives and passes on the traditional beliefs of many centuries. Even the greatest minds are inevitably influenced by the thought-atmosphere, as by the physical atmosphere, in which they live. That is true of such towering minds as those of Shakespeare, Milton, and Sir Isaac Newton, as can readily be shown. In relation to our subject Wesley was in fact no more credulous than St. Augustine, Jerome, or St. Thomas Aquinas. And if to-day teachers and preachers are generally less absorbed in the doings of Satan, and almost entirely uninfluenced by the superstitions associated with Witchcraft, this is not due to any self-emancipating thought on their part. It is due rather to a change in the thought-atmosphere, created by innumerable factors which have operated during the last two hundred years.

In his *Journal* and *Sermons* John Wesley makes many references to the Devil and demons. In certain of his *Sermons* he deals at length with our subject, and gives a reasoned statement of his beliefs. In his sermon on "Evil Angels," for example, he points out that there are no gaps or chasms in God's creation. All parts of the universe form an ordered whole. There is one chain of beings, from the lowest to the highest point, from an unorganized particle of earth or water to Michael the archangel. This line of thought was by no means new; it is found in Philo and in other Jewish and early Christian writers.

Concerning the angels, he says, we can know nothing certainly except by revelation. From revelation we learn that angels were created holy and happy. Some, however, left their first estate, and these are now what are called evil angels. The angels, whence the devils derive, were the highest order of created beings. They were spirits, pure ethereal creatures, simple and incorruptible. If not wholly immaterial, they were certainly not encumbered with gross, earthly flesh and blood. The original properties of the rebel angels were doubtless the same as those of the holy angels. There is no absurdity in supposing that Satan, otherwise called Lucifer, was one of the first, if not the first archangel.

The cause of the apostasy of the angels we do not know exactly. The result, however, has been that they have become full of pride, arrogance and haughtiness. Inspired by cruelty and malice, they ever seek to involve men in their own evil and misery.

These evil spirits, the Scripture teaches, are united under one common head called Satan. By Jesus he is called "the prince of this world," and by St. Paul he is even styled "the god of this world." There is reason to believe that the other evil angels are under his command; that they are ranged by him according to their several orders. They are also appointed to their several stations,

and carry out the works and offices that are assigned to them. They are connected both with Satan and with each other, though we know not how.[1]

So far as God permits, these evil angels are "governors of the world." This fact, he thinks, may furnish the ground for Satan's offer to give to Jesus "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" (Matt. iv. 8, 9).

Satan and his angels are always warring against the sons of men. They have a supernatural knowledge; they know all our circumstances; and with malicious intent they watch over our every motion. They are ready to take advantage of every opportunity to do us injury. They infuse evil thoughts into the minds of men, darken their hearts and rouse evil passions. It is just as easy, he says, for a spirit to speak to our hearts, as for a man to speak to our ears.

Satan, Wesley believes, wields physical as well as spiritual power; he afflicts the bodies as well as the souls of men. He is the occasion, directly or indirectly, of many of the pains of mankind, which are often lightly passed over as nervous affections. Innumerable accidents, as they are called, are doubtless due to his agency. He is responsible for such things as the unaccountable fright or falling of horses; the overturning of carriages; the breaking or dislocating of bones; the hurt done by the falling or burning of houses; as also that done by lightnings or earthquakes, by storms of wind, snow, rain, or hail. To all such things this "subtle spirit" can give the appearance of accidents.

Wesley is also of the opinion that the Devil is responsible for many diseases, both of the acute and of the chronic kind. This is particularly so with those that begin instantly, and are without any discernible cause, as also those that baffle the power of medicine. To suggest, as some do, that these have a nervous origin, is simply to explain the unknown by the unknown, for we know very little of the nerves themselves.

The Devil's hand, Wesley thinks, may also be seen in the little inconveniences to which we are subject, such as the breaking of a bench on which we are seated. Perhaps likewise he is the cause of nightmare, and of terrifying dreams in general.

As to demon possession, Wesley strongly maintains the orthodox view. The testimonies supporting this view, he says, are numberless, and are as plain as words can make them. In opposition to the Rev. Dr. Middleton, who had written a treatise in which he had suggested that the cases of so-called demon possession were nothing more than "falling-sickness," Wesley declares that they cannot be accounted for either on the theory of sickness or epilepsy, or of imposture or ventriloquism.[2]

Wesley was firmly convinced of the reality of Witchcraft and of the occurrence of apparitions. "With my latest breath," he declares, "will I bear my testimony against giving up to infidels one great proof of the invisible world: I mean, that of Witchcraft and apparitions, confirmed by the testimony of all ages."[3] The references to apparitions in his *Journal* are very numerous, as the present writer has shown elsewhere.[4] Some of the accounts given are both long and interesting. They are, however, not usually assumed to be due

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1 Cf. John Wesley, *Works*, vol. vi. Sermon LXXI., p. 370ff (1829).

2 *Works*, vol. x., pp. 41-44. 3 Ibid. vol. xiv., p. 304. 4 See *Supernatural*, etc., p. 307ff.

to the operations of the Devil or demons, as is the case with Richard Baxter and the Roman Catholic writers. They are simply related as instances of strange and inexplicable phenomena, an attitude much more in harmony with the spirit of modern research.

CHAPTER XII

In the Literature of the Nineteenth Century

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ONWARDS THE BELIEF IN Satan became less vivid and pronounced. Many factors led to a change of outlook and emphasis: especially amongst those who gave serious thought to the subject. The declining belief in the reality of the alleged phenomena associated with Magic and Witchcraft did much to reduce the emphasis which, during so many centuries, had been placed upon the existence and activities of Satan and evil spirits. The growing belief in an ordered universe, governed by natural laws, which resulted from patient research into the phenomena of nature, made it difficult for thoughtful people to believe in the reality of those many interferences in the scheme of things on the part of invisible beings, which had been so commonly asserted.

For many years to come, of course, the belief in the existence of Satan still remained amongst the people generally in varying degrees of vitality. Among students of the Bible and theologians an attempt was made to retain the belief in Satan as an essential element in revealed truth, whilst discarding medieval accretions. This was the inevitable result of the prevailing belief in the Bible as being, from cover to cover, a repository of specially revealed truth. Since Satan is mentioned in Zechariah, Job, and 1 Chronicles, it was held, then Satan must exist, just as he is portrayed. Above all, Satan appears in the Gospels, and throughout the New Testament literature; therefore there can be no doubt of his existence and operations. How these questions were debated in the literature of the nineteenth century we shall see as we proceed.

Perhaps the most interesting contributions made to our subject during the early part of this period were made by a number of profound philosophical theologians, chiefly German, who sought to find a philosophical basis for the existence of Satan; or, on the other hand, endeavoured to explain Satan as being something other than a personal spirit being, the supreme head of the kingdom of evil.

One of the most significant contributions to our subject was made by Schleiermacher.[1] This profound German scholar and honoured Christian teacher, whose compendium of Christian teaching was widely read in England, points out the many difficulties involved in the acceptance of the traditional teaching concerning Satan. First, as to the fall of the angels; we have seen that it has been repeatedly affirmed through all the ages that Satan is a fallen angel, who revolted against God, and drew after him a large company of inferior angels. But how, asks Schleiermacher, is it possible to

1 Cf. *Der Christliche Glaube*. 2nd German Ed., 1830. Eng. tr. *The Christian Faith*, by H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart, 1928, pp. 161ff.

DIABOLOS INCITES MANSOUL TO ARMS.

From Bunyan's *Holy War*. By kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Cassell & Co., London.

XVIIth Century Conception

THE COUNCIL OF THE EVIL ONES.

From Bunyan's *Holy War*. By kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Cassell & Co., London.

XVIIth Century Conception

SATAN SOWS TARES AMONG THE WHEAT

(Matt. xiii. 39)

XVIIth Century Conception

See page 28

CHRISTIAN'S COMBAT WITH APOLLYON

From Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. 19th Century Conception.

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See page 92

conceive of such an event among good angels? The more perfect the good angels are supposed to have been, the less possible it is to find any motives but those which presuppose a fall already, e.g., arrogance and envy. Furthermore, if after the fall the natural powers of the Devil remained undiminished, it is impossible to conceive how evil could exist side by side with superlative insight. For such insight must have shown the futility of any conflict with God. Again, if the Devil at the time of his fall lost the finest and purest intelligence, then it is inconceivable how through the one error the intelligence could be for ever lost, unless error was already due to a lack of intelligence. And, on the other hand, how could the Devil after such a loss of intelligence, be so dangerous an enemy? For nothing is easier than to contend with senseless wickedness.

It is just as difficult to explain the relation of the fallen to other angels. If the angels were originally all alike, then no special motive could be felt by one group; how then is it to be explained that the one group sinned and the other did not? There is no less difficulty if we assume that prior to the fall of one group all the angels may have been in a partially unstable state of innocence, and that one group, because of one deed, have been for ever judged and condemned; while the other group, because of their resistance, have been for ever confirmed and established, so that henceforth they cannot fall.

Schleiermacher points out that though the Devil is frequently mentioned in the New Testament, neither Jesus nor the apostles are represented as setting up any new doctrine concerning him, and still less do they associate the idea of the Devil in any way with the plan of salvation. It follows therefore that whatever is said about the Devil, belief in him must not be asserted as a condition of faith in God or Christ. Further, there can be no question of the Devil having any influence within the kingdom of God.

It is important to notice, he says, that there is not a single passage in the New Testament where Christ or His apostles definitely and indisputably refer to the Devil with the intention of either teaching anything new or peculiarly their own, or of correcting or supplementing current beliefs. They make use of the conception in its current popular form. If we wished to formulate a Christian doctrine of the Devil we should be obliged to assume that this conception as known to Christ and His apostles corresponds perfectly with the truth, and could not be improved. This position must certainly be taken by anyone who is unwilling to admit that Christ made use of what is usually known as Accommodation. But such a complete development of the idea is the more improbable because, as we have seen, its chief characteristics have no basis even in the Old Testament; their origin being in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature. From the incidental way in which it occurs, it is apparent, Schleiermacher says, that neither Christ nor His disciples desired either to give support to the idea or to vouch for its truth.

Another significant fact is that we find no mention of the Devil in a number of important passages when sin is being discussed,[1] and where we should most expect it. Such a complete silence in every essentially didactic passage ought to have been seriously considered.

Schleiermacher argues that even if we take account of all the many references to Satan in the New Testament, there is still no reason for our

1 Cf. e.g. Rom chs. 1-viii; James i. 13f

accepting the notion as a permanent element in Christian doctrine. For Jesus and His disciples, he says, did not hold the idea as one derived from the sacred writings of the Old Testament, or as being in any way acquired through Divine revelation; it was drawn from the common life of the period, just as it is still present more or less in all our minds, in spite of our utter ignorance as to the existence of such a being. Since that from which we are to be redeemed remains the same, as does also the manner of our redemption, whether there be a Devil or not, the question as to his existence is not one for Christian theology, but rather for cosmology in the widest sense of the word. It stands on the same level as questions relating to the nature of the firmament and of the heavenly bodies. In treating of Christian Dogmatics we have nothing either to affirm or to deny on such subjects. Similarly, we are just as little concerned to dispute the conception of the Devil as to establish it.

According to Schleiermacher the biblical usage shows that amongst the Jewish people the conception of the Devil was really a fusion of three quite different elements. (1) The first element is that of the servant of God who, while searching out evil, has his rank and function among the other angels, and is not expelled from the presence of God. (2) A second element is connected with the original source of evil in oriental dualism, the conception being modified in such a way as the Jews alone were able to assimilate it The second element could only be harmonized with the first through some fictitious story, as that of the apostasy of some of the angels. (3) The third element was that of the Angel of Death, and is also a combination of native and foreign ideas.

This writer also points out that the spirits which are supposed to be active in cases of alleged possession are differently represented, and are only indirectly brought into connection with the Devil. This conception probably obtained a strong hold by reason of the manifold enigmas presented to introspection by sudden changes of feeling. The explanation that these are due to the presence of spirits suggests itself naturally to nearly everyone who has the gift for self-analysis. Very frequently we find evil emotions arise within us in a strange and abrupt manner, having no connection with our ruling tendencies, so that we are compelled to look upon them as alien to ourselves. Similarly, good emotions and thoughts have frequently been attributed to the presence of good angels.

As to the practical effects of belief or disbelief in the existence and operations of the Devil, Schleiermacher affirms that anyone seeking to put forward, as a part of Christian doctrine, belief in a permanent influence of the Devil either in the kingdom of God itself, or in a permanent kingdom of Satan opposed to the kingdom of God, will not only be in direct opposition to many passages of Scripture, but will also be making very dangerous assertions. In the first place he makes harder the endeavour to explain all the phenomena of the individual soul by its own peculiar qualities and by the influences of common life. Further, he gravely strengthens the already strong inclination of men to deny their own guilt. It would be bad enough if anyone neglected to take due care of himself and others because of his trust in the protection of angels; but it would be even more dangerous if he attributed his growing wickedness to the influence of Satan. Again, such belief in the influence of Satan will destroy the joyful consciousness of a sure inheritance in the kingdom of God; for everything wrought by the spirit

of God must then be at the mercy of the antagonistic influences of the Devil, and all confidence in the guidance of one's own mind will be abolished.

At the same time, Schleiermacher admits that the poetic use of the conception of the Devil has its value. In poetry personification is quite in place, and no disadvantage is to be feared from the emphatic use of this idea in pious moods. It would therefore be inexpedient and in many ways unjustifiable to wish to banish the conception of the Devil from sacred hymnology.

I have given a fairly full outline of Schleiermacher's teaching upon our subject because it was one of the first serious attempts made to analyse the conception of Satan, to show the difficulties involved in it, and to point out that instead of explaining, or casting light upon, the problem of sin, it merely carries the problem further back, and leaves it entirely unexplained. The views expressed by this great writer are also important on account of their influence upon successive generations of biblical and theological students. From this time forward it was felt that the traditional belief in Satan could not be accepted at its face-value. Regard must be paid to the sources of the belief, and to the question whether Jesus made use of accommodation in the expression of His teaching, and to the still more radical question of the bearing of the human conditions of the life of Jesus upon certain elements of his teaching.

Schelling also carried out an original inquiry into the nature of the conception of Satan.[1] He points out that there are a number of inconsistencies between the commonly accepted view of Satan as a created individual spirit, an angel of God, which fell into sin and drew others after him, and representations of Satan found in various passages in the New Testament. Nowhere is it stated in the Old or New Testament that Satan is a created spirit. That he is a created spirit is simply an inference from the general fundamental principle that everything which exists is a God-created creature. On the other hand, to assume that Satan is an actual evil principle, evil by nature, and co-eternal with God, as e.g., in Manichaeism or Parsism, is directly opposed to the view of both the Old and New Testaments. The conception of Satan is thus seen to lie between these two extremes—a mere creature and a fundamentally evil principle.

Schelling then points out a number of passages in the New Testament which, he thinks, clearly imply that Satan is something more than a mere individual creature. For example, a kingdom is ascribed to Satan, just as a kingdom is ascribed to Christ. The one kingdom is opposed to the other. It can hardly be said that Jesus, the Son of God, can reasonably be represented as engaging in conflict with a mere created spirit. Moreover, a sublimity and an exaltation are ascribed to Satan which cannot be harmonized with the latter conception. Jesus calls him "the prince of this world." St. Paul even names him "the god of this world." However great the power of Satan in this world is conceived to be, "the god of this world" could never be called a mere individual concrete spirit. Just as little could such a creature be said to have the "power of death" (Heb. ii. 14).

Furthermore, while in certain passages of Scripture Satan is represented as the chief author of evil and as the enemy of God, elsewhere he appears as one

1 Cf. *Philosophie der Offenbarung*, pp. 241ff (1858)

who belongs to the divine economy, and, in some measure, as a God-recognized principle. This is the conception found in the Book of Job. Here Satan is represented as one who is inclined to doubt the disposition of men, and whose function is to test man's virtue. He is viewed as playing a necessary part in God's world. Without himself being evil, he brings hidden evil forth into the light of day.

Schelling therefore is of the opinion that the original idea of Satan was quite other than the conception developed out of it at a later time. It is indeed not surprising that one whose function it is to bring evil to light should have come to be viewed as evil in himself. The result is that Satan is one person in his beginning and another at his end. By Paul and John especially Satan is viewed as evil; yet side by side with this conception there is another, according to which Satan is a power which one must tremble to scorn and to slander, whose judgement should be reserved for God alone (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 10f). The "dignities" or "glories" here mentioned Schelling identifies with Satan.

The injunction that Satan should not be railed at implies that he is not indeed an absolute or unlimited evil, but rather a necessary principle in the divine government of the world. Schelling points out that this view is found in Jewish literature. In the *Book of Sirach* (*Ecclesiasticus*), for example, it is said that, "When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul" (xxi. 27). Satan is, therefore, still to be recognized as a kind of divine majesty. Of a mere creature such a thing could never be said.

This conception of Satan, Schelling maintains, alone makes the temptation of Jesus by Satan comprehensible. To suppose that Jesus was exposed to temptation by a mere creature is to place Him on too low a level. On the other hand, it is wholly intelligible that He should be exposed to this principle, and, indeed, even more directly than any other man could be, and in accordance with the divine law which wills that all persons shall be tried and proved. A mere creature spirit set over against Christ could be no true power, and could never have offered real temptation to Christ. But it is understandable that the prince or god of this world, which holds all the world a prisoner, could offer real temptation to Jesus. The words said to have been spoken by Satan on this occasion: "To thee will I give all this authority, and the glory of them: for it hath been delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it" (Lk. iv. 6)—are absurd if Satan is a mere creature. They are intelligible if Satan is a real principle and is aware that to him belongs the external world-kingdom. The words of St. Paul in Ephes. vi. 11f. agree with this conception.

Finally, the kind of omnipresence which is ascribed to Satan does not harmonize with the conception of Satan as a mere individual creature. It does agree, on the other hand, with the nature of a principle which is everywhere, and at all times, in man as well as without. A creature is excluded from another creature: but nothing can exclude a cosmical principle.

Schelling's attempt to represent Satan as a cosmical principle, very different, on the one hand, from an individual fallen angel, and yet, on the other hand, not a fundamentally evil principle opposed to God, is very difficult to comprehend. Perhaps a study of the somewhat similar theory of Martensen will enable us to see more clearly what is involved in it.

Dr. H. Martensen was the Bishop of Seeland, in Denmark. His work, *Christian Dogmatics, a Compendium of the Doctrines of Christianity*, was originally written in Danish, but at a later date he re-wrote it in German.

The English translation, which is here used, was made from the later German edition. The date of the original work was 1850.[1] It will be helpful to remember that Martensen was familiar with the ideas of Schelling as set forth in an earlier work than his *Offenbarung* entitled *Satanologie.*

Martensen treats our subject at great length and propounds an interesting theory. He emphasizes the importance of the doctrine of Satan. The Devil, he asserts, is not merely one evil creature among many, one demon among others, but the evil principle itself *in persona.* He rejects Schleiermacher's view that the question of the existence of Satan should not be the subject of Christian or theological discussion. On the contrary, this writer goes so far as to affirm that the way in which anyone speaks of the Devil may be taken as a test or criterion of his views regarding evil generally. Theology must, therefore, assert the necessary connection of this doctrine with the whole range of Christian ideas. It must represent the doctrine of the Devil as the doctrine of the evil principle.

The traditional conception of the Devil as a superhuman, and yet a created, spirit, who was originally good, but fell from his station through pride, and became the enemy of God, involves, Martensen says, the clearest contrast and opposition to the dualism of heathenism, which either makes two fundamentally distinct existences, as in the Persian religion, or makes evil the dark and mysterious source from which good developes itself, and which existence conquers. The Christian view is also contrasted with that explanation which makes evil to consist in sense, or matter, or which reduces evil to a mere privation or limitation. The Devil is a highly-gifted and powerful spirit. This doctrine concerning him involves the most obvious antagonism to Acosmism, which denies the existence of the universe as apart from the Creator; and to Pantheism, the doctrine that God and the universe are identical, which allows no place for the Devil. The free God which Theism recognises may not only endure another than himself—a world which is a non-God, but even a contrast to Himself, which contradicts Him, without encroaching upon His almighty power.

Again, if we view the Devil in relation to man, he appears as a spirit external to and distinct from man, yet as one who has insidiously crept upon man and brought him under his dominion. It is evident then that evil is alien to human nature, and is excluded from the true idea of humanity. It must be looked upon as a spirit hostile both to God and man, and the enemy of both. But while existing in creation it cannot itself be a separate creation, because the individual creature can only be participant of evil. Evil in and for itself can only be looked upon as an universal principle. Hence we attribute to the Devil a kind of omnipresence, for wherever this world is, there is also the Devil.

Thus the idea of the Devil coincides with the idea of the cosmical principle, hypostatized, that is, personified—as a negative spirit.[2] It, therefore, appears why the Devil must not in the first instance, or chiefly, be apprehended as an individual, a personal creature. Whether there be diabolizing creatures, and whether among these there be one creature in whom the evil principle is so centralized, and has attained to so personal a form as to be called "the Prince of the Devils—this question, Martensen says, can have no meaning for us

1 For reference see Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, pp. 186ff (1878). 2 Ibid, p. 191f.

until we have recognized the Devil as a principle. We must first and chiefly apprehend the Devil not as a creature, but as a god, as St. Paul calls him, "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4).

At this point Martensen expresses agreement with the view of Schelling, that in order to be a worthy antagonist of Christ the Devil must be more than an individual creature. An individual creature, who is not in the first instance a principle or god, would only have made himself ridiculous when he offered Christ "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them." The history of the temptation obtains a fuller meaning when the Devil is understood as the embodiment of the cosmical principle itself, which opposes itself to Him who is the personal revelation of the principle of holiness.

Just as the good does not become active until it assumes a personal form, so it is also with evil. The evil principle can only be conceived of as a will, which is the foe of God and man. If evil be taken as impersonal, its sting is taken away, and it sinks into a mere power of nature. What kind of personality can we then ascribe to evil? The evil principle certainly cannot be personal in the same sense as the good principle, that is, God, is personal. It cannot be personal in itself; it can only obtain personality in a creature who is endowed with will. If we were to imagine the evil principle as a personal anti-god, who existed in the fullness of his own being apart from God's creation, we should fall into Manichaeism. The negative principle can only be helped to personality by the will of some creature. In other words, the Devil, that is, the cosmical principle, can only become personal in the creatures who submit to become its instruments. Such a personality is not a real existence, a being resting in itself; it is only a becoming, something that hovers half-way between existence and non-existence, between personality and personification. The conception of the Devil as the god of time throws us back upon the notion of a personality continually becoming personal. The Devil as the evil principle ceaselessly strives after existence, which it can only obtain in time and in this world. It, therefore, unceasingly lays snares for men, in order to obtain existence in them. Whereas the Manichaean theory makes the evil principle a perfect and complete existence, an actually existing god opposed to the God of good, the evil principle exists, upon the view presented above, only in so far as it continually generates itself in God's creation.[1]

The most appalling expressions of Satan's power are to be seen in those people who are said to be "possessed," of whom we read in the New Testament. Demons, according to Martensen, are not merely the sinful propensities of men; they are spirits, or powers, by which men are enslaved.

Martensen also considers the relation of his theory, that the Devil is the cosmical principle which can obtain for itself personality only in free creatures, to the traditional belief in a race of heavenly creatures who fell into sin before the fall of man took place. Did this principle enter first into mankind, or had it entered into creatures of another order before its coming into the world of man?[2]

Although, Martensen says, it must certainly be affirmed that the negative principle has no personality in itself, but can only obtain personality in living creatures, it does not follow that this principle has obtained personality in

1 Ibid, p. 193. 2 Ibid, p. 197.

human creatures alone. Both traditional and ecclesiastical teaching recognizes a personal fall from God, which took place in the angel-world before the fall of man. The term "angel" indeed has the same indefiniteness and width as lies in the idea of "spirit," and it is not therefore necessary, when we speak of an angel, always to understand a personal spirit. There are angels mentioned in Holy Scripture that are clearly mere personifications, or intermediate beings, hovering between personality and personification. But the fundamental usage of Scripture shows that such an explanation does not apply to all cases, and that there are among angels personal spirits; and, further, that among these there are some who have fallen away from God (cf. Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4). Among many devils revelation speaks of one who is called "the chief of the devils" (Lk. xi. 15), and who is the originator of the fall and of falsehood (John viii. 44).

Martensen expresses the view that as this evil angel, the chief of the devils, the head of the kingdom of evil, is described in Scripture as the evil principle itself *in persona;* as not merely *a* devil but as *the* Devil, we may explain this upon the supposition that this creature is the one who, among all the creatures, succeeded in making himself the central manifestation of the cosmical principle; the creature, that is, in which that principle attained perfect personality, so that he is the most perfect respresentative and supporter of it.

Martensen's conclusion therefore is that the evil principle has in itself no personality, but it attains a progressively universal personality in its kingdom. It has no individual personality save only in individual creatures who, in a special manner, make themselves its organs. Among these there is one creature in whom this principle is so hypostatized that he has become the centre and head of the kingdom of evil.[1]

Beyond the world of men, evil has had a mysterious beginning; it had a history before it began its history upon earth. This side of the subject transcends speculation; but the conception of a fallen angel, or of fallen angels, and the conceivableness of a creature that is the central manifestation of evil—this cannot reasonably be denied. It must be admitted that this being can neither be seen nor handled, comprehended nor perceived. For to comprehend how a single creature can become the central manifestation of evil requires an insight into the cosmical position and import of this creature which lies beyond our experience.

But it is none the less a fact, this writer asserts, for which the word of God is our authority, that there is a father of lies; there is an enemy of God and man; there is a superhuman evil will whose kingdom and domination we strengthen and further by our sins.

Martensen rejects the view of Schelling that the existence of the Devil is relatively necessary; that he is a participating factor, recognized by God, in the divine economy, because he is, in a negative sense, the moving principle of history, which without him would come to a stand.

The views expressed by Schelling and Martensen show that when, during the first half of the nineteenth century, studious minds became conscious of the difficulties involved in the traditional belief in Satan, a serious attempt was made to find a philosophical basis for the conception in the facts of history and experience. These radical reconstructions had doubtless a considerable influence among the higher strata of society. But the popular conception

1 Ibid, p. 199.

was not easily relinquished by the general body of the members of the Churches. On the other hand, there is evidence of a reaction in the minds of large numbers of people which led them to regard the idea of Satan as being simply a convenient symbol or a personification of the powers of evil which are so manifest in the world.

Roskoff, in his great work, *The History of the Devil*,[1] traces the causes which up to his time had contributed to diminish the belief in Satan, and shows that one of the first results of the changes of thought about the world which took place at this period was that the belief in the personality of Satan vanished. He became simply representative of moral evil in man, and was conceived to have no independent existence. Belief in his personality was regarded as a superstition.[2] The traditional teaching concerning Satan was now frequently explained as a conception which had entered into Jewish thought through contact with the peoples of the East. Thence it had passed into the Christian consciousness through the process known as Accommodation. It was felt that the popular idea of Satan should be combated in order that Christians might accustom themselves to seek for the evil spirit not outside but inside themselves.[3]

One of the most direct and powerful attacks made upon the traditional belief in the Devil was made by Dr. Albert Réville in the seventies of the last century.[4] This writer views the belief in Satan as a relic of primitive polytheism. The conception, he thinks, was probably based upon the radical opposition of the principles of good and evil. He points out that there is a close likeness between Satan and Ahriman, but holds that, though the conception of Satan was influenced by the Persian belief, it was not derived from it; for Satan existed before. Modern theology, he remarks, which has well-nigh repudiated the Devil, has dwelt much upon the question whether Jesus Himself shared the beliefs of His contemporaries in regard to Satanism. There is. however, no authority for thinking that Jesus, out of consideration for popular beliefs, would have feigned a faith which He did not hold. He thus rejects the theory of Accommodation. In fact, the principles of the religion of Jesus were not in themselves favourable to this kind of belief.[5]

Réville goes on to show that the idea that God is the Father of all men is not easily reconciled with the existence of the Devil. Nowhere does Jesus make the belief in the Devil one of the conditions of admission into the kingdom of God. If the Devil were a mere idea, a bare symbol, these conditions would remain literally the same. Purity of heart, thirst for justice, love for God and man, these are all of them essentials which are entirely independent of the question whether Satan exists or not. It may be said therefore that when Jesus speaks in a general, abstract sense, without regard to the circumstances of time and place, He removes the person of Satan from His field of instruction. He declares, for example, that evil thoughts come from our hearts (Mark vii. 21, etc.), while according to the Satanic theory they ought to be referred to the Devil. But Jesus evidently availed Himself of the popular

1 Gustav Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, 2 vols. (1869).

2 Ibid, vol. ii., p. 560. 3 Ibid, vol. ii., p. 568.

4 See *The Devil, His Origin, Greatness and Decadence*. Translated from the French by H.A. pub. by Williams & Norgate, 1871.

5 Ibid, p. 21.

belief in this respect, as a form or image to which He attributed no positive reality.

So also it is with the theology of St. Paul. He evidently believes in the Devil; yet in his view moral evil is connected with the earthly nature of man, and not with the external and personal action of the Devil. In a word, though the teaching of Jesus and Paul does not anywhere combat the belief in the Devil, it can do without it, and tends to do so.

In the opinion of Réville therefore the conception of Satan in its origin, is the link that connects polytheistic dualism with just that degree of relative dualism which Jewish Monotheism could support.

As to later developments, he affirms that the ecstasies, which were physiologically generated by fasting, gave all the appearance of reality to the imaginary beings that were evoked.

Another important factor in the formulation of the later belief was, according to Réville, that the great majority of bishops and missionaries firmly believed that by insisting upon the extirpation of polytheism they were fighting against the Devil and his host. They inoculated their converts with the same belief, and thereby considerably prolonged the existence of the heathen divinities.

Traditions of human sacrifice offered up in honour of the ancient gods doubtless accounts for the idea that Satan and his slaves have a relish for human flesh. The time came when the idea that the Devil had a distinct bodily shape became settled; and the shape was that of the ancient fauns and satyrs, with horns, protruding legs, hairy skin, tail, cloven foot, and horse's hoof.[1]

After the Reformation, the Devil's miracles were the first thing to lose their credit when the decline of the belief in the supernatural began. Thus Satan lapses into just what he was in the first century; or even into something less. He is conceived to be a tempting, invisible, impalpable spirit, whose suggestions must be resisted, and from whom regeneration alone can deliver us. In effect, without as yet denying Satan's existence and power, the Reformation, while still making great use of his name in popular teaching and preaching, by slow degrees dismisses him to an abstract, ideal sphere, without any clear connection with everyday life. If he had been viewed simply as a convenient personification of the power of moral evil in the world, Protestant piety would have been affected very little.[2]

Réville calls attention to the fact that the fading-out of the belief in Witchcraft had much to do with the decline of the belief in the Devil. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a Dutch Pastor, Balthasar Bekker, wrote a book called *The Enchanted World* (1691-1693) which struck a hard blow against the belief in Witchcraft. His thesis might be summed up by saying, There is no Witchcraft where there is no faith in it; do not believe in it, and it will cease to be. From the date of the appearance of this work, Réville says, the cause of the Devil may be considered as rejected by the tribunal of scientific theology. The progress of the human mind, and the knowledge of nature and modern philosophy did the rest.[3]

The belief in the Devil, this writer argues, is also to be condemned on

1 Ibid, p. 32ff. 2 Ibid, p. 61f. 3 Ibid, p. 64.

the ground of its practical fruits in the lives of men. If it could be said that the belief in the Devil commended itself to us on the ground of its great moral usefulness, in that it improves the lives of those who share it, and elevates a man's character by making him more pure, brave and unselfish, then there would be good grounds for trying to save it from the formidable attacks of modern reason. But the reverse is the case. Belief in the Devil necessarily tends to blunt the sense of individual culpability. If I do wrong, not because I am bad, but because another, whose power is stronger than my own will, has driven me into wrong-doing, then my fault is certainly lessened, if not annulled. As a proof of the evil consequences of the belief in the Devil, Réville points to the wretched superstitions, dangerous follies, and terrible crimes which the belief has so long inspired.

If it be said that the disproof of Witchcraft does not carry with it any disproof of the existence of a personal evil genius, against whom men must defend themselves, Réville replies that Witchcraft cannot be so easily severed from the principles of which it is the offspring. Once admit the Devil, and the wizards follow as a matter of course. It is quite natural and consistent that the belief in Witchcraft, having succumbed before experience, should have carried in its ruin the belief in the Devil himself.

Réville concludes that, when brought down from the heights where poetry and mystery have sometimes succeeded in placing him, he is subjected to close inspection, and confronted with the plain truth, Satan becomes a mere absurdity; and ever since this has been clearly seen it has become impossible to honour him by acknowledging his real existence. Ever since we have been compelled to see God's presence live and move in all things, there is no room left in the world for the Devil.

It is quite true that attempts are still made to preserve for him something like an honourable position in a few dogmatic treatises, and in pietistic hymns. This does but annoy the clergy and laity who are pervaded by a healthy tone. By them Satan is still tolerated as an expression, a type, a symbol, which the language of religion has sanctioned; but this is all. To allow him any place in civil or domestic codes, or to admit him into actual life is quite impossible. It is untrue to say, as some do, that the belief in the Devil solves the problem of evil. The truth rather is, it solves nothing. It simply carries into heaven the problem that seemed insoluble on earth. The main support of the belief in the Devil is the power of evil in and around us.[1]

Edward Reuss, who wrote about the same time as Réville, was not so forthright in his attack upon the belief in the Devil. His main contribution to our subject was an attempt to show how the belief in angels, and consequently the belief in the Devil, arose.[2] According to his putting of the case the metaphysical attributes of the Deity, at first represented by concrete symbols, borrowed especially from animal life, were ultimately apprehended by the vulgar mind as subordinate beings, though originally they were only elements detached by speculative analysis from the very essence of God.

The most fruitful source of the belief in angels is, however, to be found in memories of ancient Sabaism: and contact with Canaanite religions did

1 Ibid, p. 68f.

2 Cf. *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age.* Eng. trans. by Annie Harwood from the 3rd Ed., with preface by R. W. Dale, vol. i. (1872).

much to foster and aid the development of the belief. It may even be said that it is the progress of monotheistic ideas which multiplied the angels, since the numerous divine powers recognized by the religious conscience, in the period of its infancy, all became subordinate creatures and ministers of the one God. The relation of favour or disfavour, of protection or hostility which might subsist between God and mortals was soon supposed to be regulated by the intervention of these intermediate beings, who concerned themselves with the affairs of men—a belief shared by polytheism with regard to its gods. But the supreme government of the world is always reserved by the Hebrews for the one God. Reuss points out the important fact that in the religion of the great prophets, in the generation before the Exile, we find scarcely any indication of this angelology.

Now among the angels there was one particular angel who was viewed as the adversary of men, and who was represented as accusing them and bringing them into disfavour with God (Job i, ii; Zech. iii). This idea, which appeared in Scripture only as a poetic fiction, combined with the notion of a principle of evil, as recognized in dualism; and this combination, always kept subordinate to the monotheistic theory, finally produced the idea of the Devil. This soon became one of the most popularly received ideas among the Jews, and thus, in spite of its metaphysical origin, sank to the level of a vulgar superstition. These popular ideas of good and evil angels, which were developed by Jewish Schoolmen, passed almost unchanged into the beliefs of Christian nations.

Reuss deals in detail with the biblical teaching concerning the Devil, and concludes that Jesus gives no diagnosis of the Devil. In speaking of him, He simply uses the terms and modes of speech which were common among the Jews, and seems to have felt no necessity for either defining or changing them.[1]

Although, as we shall see, the doctrine of Satan still remained for many years a matter of debate, the facts presented above seem to justify the summary of the theological attitude prevailing at this time which is given by a writer in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* published in 1872. This writer (J.T.) points out that with the rise of a rationalistic temper throughout Europe, in the 18th century, the belief in the pervading influence of diabolic agency began to disappear. The old belief in the arbitrary control exercised by an evil power over human destiny decayed. And while, since that time, there has been a great revival of religious feeling, both in the Evangelical and Catholic direction, it cannot be said that the earlier faith in the operations of a personal Devil has regained ascendancy. It may still be the prevailing opinion of Christendom that there is an evil power working in the world opposed to the divine; but whether this power is personal, or how it touches the human will; or again, whether there is a subterranean kingdom of demons, with a prince of demons or Devil at their head—these are all questions which must be held to be very unsettled, or are maintained with a very doubtful confidence in any section of the Christian Church.

Notwithstanding this general tendency, however, powerful voices were still raised from time to time in support of the traditional doctrine of Satan. Dr. C. F. Schmid, Professor of Theology in the University of Tübigen,[2] for

1 Ibid, pp. 74ff., 163, 401ff.

2 Cf. *Biblical Theology of the New Testament, Eng.* Tr. from the Fourth German Ed. by G. N. Venables, 1870.

example, pointed out that Jesus presupposes the belief in Satan as a thing long ago familiar to His contemporaries, not, indeed, as an erroneous notion, but as something actually true. Further, although He does not go so far as to afford any instruction upon the subject, Jesus often spoke of a certain physical and psychical influence of Satan, which to some extent overstepped the immediately visible, and He placed this subject in so practical a relation to the kingdom of God which He announced that it must necessarily be considered as forming part of His teaching.[1]

Rationalism seeks to attribute these utterances of Jesus with reference to the possessed as a giving way on the part of Jesus to prevalent ideas. Schmid, however, maintains that any accommodation to erroneous opinions, or positive yielding to them, which would amount to an approval or confirmation of them is, in the view of any impartial person, a tendency far removed from the character of our Lord, as manifested in His mode of action. In everything He desired to point out the path, and not to follow others. In every case when truth and falsehood were in question, He was wont to express Himself frankly, even when most in opposition to the mightiest among the people. Not only did Jesus say nothing against the prevailing ideas as to Satan and his kingdom; but He so spoke and taught that we must admit them among the body of His teaching, and especially the theory of the physical and psychical influence of demons.

Probably, however, the most powerful voice raised during this period in support of the traditional doctrine was that of Dr. J. A. Dorner, whose chief work was translated into English, and exercised a widespread influence among students of theology in this country.[2] Dorner treats the subject at great length. After an examination of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments, he traces the history of the doctrine of the Devil, and indicates the teaching of the Church as it existed at that time. He acutely criticises the views expressed by previous scholars, some of which have been outlined above.[3] It may be said that the most serious defect of his treatment is his failure to recognize more fully the influence of Jewish apocalyptic literature in the formulation of the belief in Satan.

After a careful examination of the subject, he concludes that though the doctrine of the Devil and of the demonic powers is not capable of a perfect reconstruction, it still forms a harmonious whole, and that it is of importance for the Christian idea of evil as distinguished from that of heathenism or Judaism, as well as for the practical religious life. The doctrine of the Church therefore holds it fast, although it does not place the doctrine in the rank of one of the fundamental articles.

Dorner allows that there are certain classical passages in the New Testament which treat of sin, in which there is no mention of the Devil (e.g., James i. 13; Rom. v. 12f.). According to the Scriptures also there are sins—and particularly the decisive sin of unbelief—which issue purely from the personal freedom of man, and therefore not from Satan, and which are also not caused by the medium of inherited sin. Moreover Satan is no evil Absolute, but

1 Ibid, p. 189ff.

2 Cf. *A System of Christian Doctrine* (1879-1881), Eng. tro. by Alfred Cave and J. S. Banks, 4 vols., 1880-1896.

3 Ibid, vol. iii, p. 85ff.

is at every moment sustained by the Divine omnipotence, which only allows him place for ethical reasons. Satan has power over man generally to work actual evil in him, not immediately, but simply by the mediation of sinfulness already existent, and of human volition.[1]

On the question of the personality of Satan Dorner expresses considerable sympathy with the views expressed by Martensen, which have been sketched above. It must be admitted, he says, that evil can never be so concentrated in a creaturely individual as good is in God. Nor can the universal principle of evil be thought of as personal in itself. It rather seeks to become personal by means of a personal creature. Figuratively, we may say with Martensen that what Pantheism ascribes to God, namely, that, Himself impersonal, He incessantly seeks to become a person, so the principle of evil, impersonal itself, and lacking true reality, hungers and thirsts after the life-blood of reality, and seeks to step from its inner emptiness and nothingness into the living reality, which imparts to it the semblance of life.[2]

The evil principle could not live in the world without personalities, which it stands in need of as its organs and bearers. Accordingly, it is always, as it were, seeking a new personal existence. On the other hand, creaturely personalities may acquiesce in a union with the evil principle in various grades. The more the free creature surrenders itself to the evil desire, the more has the universal evil principle a handle, so that man can no longer lay the evil spirit he has invited.

Dorner thinks it cannot be doubted that there are actually forms of evil which cannot be called other than demonic. They traduce God, delight in destruction, and find joy in the downfall of the good. This is evident to anyone who in historical crises has taken a glance into the abysses which have been opened. A person may sell himself to evil, so that he may become a prophet of the lying spirit, or a priest of the same, initiated into the depths of wickedness.[3]

Further, if the possibility cannot be denied, that a human person may receive the evil principle in such a manner that he delights to be the bearer and representative of it, there is no longer any right to deny that in the higher spirit world there may be spirits who fell before men, who gave themselves even more thoroughly to evil, and who surrendered their personalities to become instruments of the evil principle. One particular angel, equipped with the highest gifts, might coalesce with the evil principle and become its bearer. He might also form the thought of founding a kingdom antagonistic to God. Such is the conception of Satan, the prince of evil spirits. We have no right to deny the existence of a kingdom of evil with a prince at its head.[4]

Although, therefore, Satan is never identical with evil generally, because there is evil which he does not work, still he is no mere image of universal evil. He is the spirit who seeks to become the central organ for evil, and to identify his finite personality with evil generally.

Contrary to the view expressed by Réville and others, Dorner holds that there are elevating and consolatory elements in the New Testament doctrine of Satan. It is elevating, since we are accounted worthy to take a part in this conflict, a conflict which brings us into communion with the whole world of

1 Ibid, pp. 89, 103. 2 Ibid, p. 108. 3 Ibid, p. 109. 4 Ibid, p. 110.

good spirits and their interests. The final decision need not alarm us, because Christ is answerable for it, and He does not surrender His world to Satan. The Church believes in the existence and might of Satan without fear, because it has the capacity to bear the thought.[1]

CHAPTER XIII

The Fading-out of the Conception of Satan

THE ATTEMPTS MADE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BY PHILOSOPHICALLY-minded theologians, to stay the declining belief in Satan have not proved to be effective. The conception of an impersonal evil principle, ever seeking to become personal, and to realize itself in human personalities, is a difficult one. The very idea of a "something" that "seeks" or "attempts" to do "something" seems to imply the existence of a will, and in our experience will is only associated with a personality. We know no other kind of will than the will of a person. An impersonal evil principle which "wills" or "seeks" to become personal therefore seems clearly to imply a contradiction in terms. It may at any rate be said that the conception has not commended itself to the theologians of the twentieth century. We hear little of it to-day, unless, perhaps, as an echo in a philosophical treatise.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the declining interest in the belief in Satan became increasingly manifest. Treatises which gave expositions of biblical theology were frequently content to reproduce the biblical teaching, with but slight reference to the Jewish background, and without making any attempt to harmonize or to unify conflicting elements. Partly the treatment given was due to the fact that scholars were not yet familiar with conceptions found in the Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic literature; and consequently they were unaware of the extent to which the teaching of Jesus, and the writings of the New Testament generally, were coloured by current conceptions. Another factor which counted for much was the natural hesitation to believe that any word spoken by Jesus could be less than literally and absolutely true. If Jesus spoke about angels, demons, and the Devil, then, it was argued, these must exist, in accordance with the current conceptions, and it was rash, to say the least, to question their existence. The study of the New Testament documents, over against their Jewish and pagan background, has now made us familiar with another point of view.

The production of theological literature during the last seventy-five years has been enormous. It is quite impossible to mention in this brief sketch even all the more important treatises which refer to our subject. We are compelled therefore to make a selection, and in so doing our concern will be to indicate the beliefs or the attitudes most widely prevalent among Christian people during the period under review.

1 Ibid, p. 112f.

One of the most famous theological works published during the period we have now reached was *A Compendium of Christian Theology,* by Dr. W. B. Pope. Dr. Pope was a Methodist theologian and tutor in one of the Colleges. His work was published in 1880 in three substantial volumes. Its influence extended far beyond the confines of Methodism. Dr. Pope champions the traditional belief in angels and Satan. He sternly criticizes the infidelity which sweeps away not only the superstitious appendages of the revealed truth concerning angels, but the revealed truth itself. He declares that it has recklessly renounced the whole economy of the angel world. Especially does it argue against the personality of Satan, either returning to the Manichaean delusion of an independent power, or making him merely the personification of evil which undoubtedly exists. At this point, he says, rationalistic theology joins the infidel. As against this mental attitude, he boldly asserts that the person of the enemy of Christ is as distinctly presented in the history of revelation, though not so fully described, nor so constantly present, as the Person of the Lord Himself.

As to demon possession, he affirms that though Scripture allows that suffering, as part of the penalty of sin, is, like death itself, in some respects within the ministry of Satan, it yet makes a distinction between all trouble or wickedness arising from within, and the torment inflicted by evil spirits from without. In the New Testament there are persons demonized who, in body and soul, are under the special influence of demons. That this was a reality and not a style of language, an accommodation to Jewish notions, is evident, he asserts, from the combination of healing disease and casting out of devils in the Saviour's commission; and also from His habitually addressing Himself to personal beings when He cast them out. There is a grand consistency in the Scripture revelation on this subject.

The chief enemy, however, is always pre-eminent, as appears from the fact that the last Evangelist withdraws his attention from all besides him, never mentioning the demons.[1]

In contrast to this, another equally honoured Methodist theologian and tutor, Dr. John Shaw Banks, in his *Manual of Christian Doctrine,* written only a few years later, makes scarcely any reference to Satan. When we are dealing with the teaching of the New Testament upon many subjects, it is impossible to avoid citing passages, in which mention is made of Satan, even when the existence of Satan is not under consideration at all. So also in dealing with the various theories which have been held concerning the Atonement reference must of necessity be made to the theory, which prevailed for many centuries, that Christ's death was a ransom paid to the Devil, who had acquired certain rights over man and held him in his power. But such incidental references apart, it is true to say that Dr. Banks gives no teaching at all about Satan, even when he is dealing with the fall of man and the origin of sin.[2]

Beyschlag, on the other hand, pays considerable attention to our subject, and develops a theory of his own, which is far removed from the traditional conception.[3] His conception of Satan is closely related to his teaching concerning angels. He points out that the immediate relation to the world in

1 Op. cit., vol. i., p. 415f (1880).

2 Cf. J. S. Banks, D.D., *A Manual of Christian Doctrine,* 2nd Revised Ed., pp. 95, 149 (1889).

3 Cf. Dr. Willabald Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology,* pp. 86f., 93ff. (1894).

which Jesus conceived His Heavenly Father to stand left no room for such personal intermediate beings, and so in His lively sense of God He went beyond these angel tales of His contemporaries to the simple, sensuous representations of the Old Testament. The angels of God, in whose presence there is joy over one sinner that repenteth (Lk. xv. 10), and before whom the Son of Man will confess those who have confessed Him before men (Lk. xii. 8), are alike a poetic paraphrase for God Himself, to whom in both cases the words properly refer. The holy angels, with whom the Son of Man will come in His glory (Mt. xvi. 27; xxv. 31), are the rays of divine majesty which are then to surround Him with splendour. In all these cases, this writer says, Jesus represents the angels as persons indeed, but manifestly treats them in a symbolical way. He did not set up any doctrine about angels.

It is along these lines that Beyschlag finds an answer to the question whether Jesus thought of Satan as a person. The form of representation, he declares, is undoubtedly personifying; but all the passages are poetic in style. The narrative of the temptation does not lead us to think of a personal Satan, but rather of the seductive expectations of the people and of the age, which were traced back to Satan. The Satan who snatches from the heart of man the word sown, or who sows tares among the wheat (Mt. xiii, 19, 38) is also simply the impersonal spirit of the world.

Beyschlag holds that it is certain that Jesus did not recognize as personal devils the demons in whom the popular Jewish belief saw personal angels of Satan. It is certain, he affirms, that Jesus set up no theory about Satan, and in no way derived or explained him as a fallen archangel. Nor does He touch the riddle which is presented in the notion of a personal and radically evil being, especially within the biblical belief in God. What Jesus means by Satan is simply that evil, in the world of nature and history, is an actual and fearful power; and that this power is not to be traced back to God, but is opposed to Him.

Julius Kaftan, Professor of Theology in Berlin, deals with the alleged relation of Satan and the fall of the angels in the spirit world to the origin of sin in the human race.[1] It has been urged, he says, that the temptation of man could not proceed out of the good creation of God, and consequently it must have entered from the outside. This implies that a fall must have taken place in the spirit world, and thus it is possible to explain the origin of sin in man's world through Satan.

This argument, Kaftan shows, is not valid. The riddle of the origin of sin is not thereby solved, but is only made the more mysterious. For the world of spirits, like all that exists, must be conceived to be the good creation of God; how then can temptation or evil arise in it? If, as is alleged, evil cannot arise among men (in whom we may suppose an element of weakness to exist) without temptation from without, how can we suppose it to arise among more perfect beings in whom there is no element of weakness? This theory therefore, which seeks to remove evil as far as possible from God, only serves to bring it nearer to Him.

Further, it is a part of the Christian faith that the divine purpose for the world can only be realised through moral development. This presupposes temptation, which is therefore a necessary factor in God's arrangement for

1 Cf. *Dogmatic*, pp. 347f. (1897).

SATAN THE PRINCE OF THE POWER OF THE AIR
Ephes. ii.

"Satan, now first inflamed with rage, came down,
The tempter, e'er the accuser, of mankind,
To wreak on innocent frail man his loss
Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell."

Milton, *Paradise Lost*. Bk. iv. 1. 9f. From an engraving by Gustave Doré.

See page 33

THE SPIRIT OF EVIL DISTORTS THE NATURE OF MAN.

From *Illustrations to the Divine Comedy of Dante* by William Blake. Vision of Hell. Canto xxv. Plate 51. The Six-footed Serpent attacking Agnolo Brunelleschi. By kind permission of the National Art-Collections Fund, Hertford House, London. Facsimile Edition (1922).

the world. It would seem then that God's purpose for the world cannot be realized without the presence of Satan as tempter.

Kaftan also remarks that this theory of the relation of Satan to the origin of evil finds no support in the Old Testament. It was only at a later date that Satan was imported into the serpent of the biblical narrative. In Gen. iii the serpent is the symbolical representation of the tempting power. The conception of Satan which appears in the New Testament was developed at a later date. The stages of this development have been traced above.

It does not follow, this writer says, that the conception of evil spirit beings, and of Satan at their head, is to be rejected. It only means that a definite teaching concerning Satan cannot be built up, and that nothing is gained thereby for the dogmatic explanation of evil. In virtue of his place in Scripture, the idea of Satan will remain, and it would be presumptuous to wish to abolish it.[1]

One of the most widely read Manuals of Christian theology published towards the end of the nineteenth century was the work of Dr. W. N. Clarke, Professor of Christian theology in Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.[2] This substantial and very influential exposition of Christian doctrine gives no place at all to Satan. The name is of course mentioned when the writer is dealing with the "ransom" theory of the Atonement; but no reference is made to the doctrine of Satan even when the author is dealing with moral evil in the universe.

Similarly, Dr. James Denney, in his notable books *Studies in Theology* (1895) and *Jesus and the Gospel* (1908) finds no place for an exposition of the belief in Satan. Of necessity, reference is sometimes made to Satan in citing passages from the New Testament; but in no single paragraph does the writer deal with the question of Satan's existence and activities.

On the other hand, Bishop Gore, in his *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation* (1895) lends his powerful support to the traditional belief in the existence and operations of both good and evil spirits. He holds that our Lord's language certainly reaches the level of teaching about good, and still more about bad, spirits. He urges that Jesus must Himself have related to His disciples the story of His own temptation, in which the personal agency of Satan is vividly presented. Jesus also speaks of the Devil as hindering good and disseminating evil. He warns Peter of an explicit demand made by Satan upon the souls of the apostles. He sees Satan behind moral and physical evil. He deals with demons with unmistakeable seriousness, emphasis and frequency.

Unlike the questions of literature and science, with which religion is not primarily mixed up, this question of diabolical agency and temptation, the Bishop urges, is one which really concerns the permanent spiritual struggle of mankind. It is a matter of profoundly practical religious interest. To teach ignorantly upon such a matter, or to inculcate false impressions about it, would be seriously inconsistent not only with one who is acknowledged to be the Incarnate Son of God, but even with the office of Son of Man as spiritual teacher of mankind, having a perfect insight into the spiritual condition of our human life.

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1 Ibid, p. 348f.

2 Cf. *An Outline of Christian Theology*, pub. 1894. 18th Ed. 1909.

Bishop Gore rejects the theory of Accommodation, which supposes that Jesus on this question connived at popular belief and language, using language on the subject only so far as was necessary to render Himself intelligible. He affirms that Jesus did much more than this. He must be regarded as having taken a side on a subject in debate at that time (cf. Acts xxiii. 8). It is impossible to treat His language about spirits as "economical" without giving profound unreality to His teaching as a whole. He therefore does not see how doubt about the existence and action of good and evil spirits is compatible with real faith in Jesus Christ as the absolutely trustworthy teacher.[1]

More than twenty years later, however, this famous Anglican scholar wrote a trilogy of theological books under the general title of *The Reconstruction of Belief*.[2] In none of these notable contributions to theological literature is any definite teaching given concerning the existence and operations of Satan. Allusions are of course inevitably made to the words of Jesus upon the subject of Satan and fallen angels. And in one passage he goes so far as to say that no doubt there are spirits, good and evil, who are not material, at least in our sense.[3] There is also a reference to Satan when mention is made of the "ransom" theory of the Atonement. But not even when the writer is dealing with the subject of sin and the fall, when, if at all, a reference to Satan's influence would be appropriate, does he deal with our subject.

It would be rash to infer from this comparative silence upon the subject in his later years, that the Bishop had seen reason to reject the traditional belief. There are many stages between definite acceptance of a belief and deliberate rejection. But it is surely reasonable to say that it is a *tour de force* on the part of a serious-minded writer of a series of theological works, embracing all the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, if he omits to give a single page to the exposition of the belief in Satan, if that belief bulks at all largely in his thought.

Dr. G. B. Stevens, in his *Theology of the New Testament* (1901) raises the fundamental question as to whether Christ's authority as a teacher is committed to the correctness of the ideas about good and evil spirits which He manifestly shared with the people of His time. He does not believe that it is. He cannot doubt that Jesus believed, and in His teaching implied, that there are good beings called angels, and evil beings called demons and Satan; but Dr. Stevens holds that His language concerning them is popular, and not didactic, and His authority is not committed to the prevailing ideas which obtain in regard to them. His language is pictorial, and in speaking on such topics His purpose always terminates on ethical and spiritual instruction, and not on giving information respecting the acts of superhuman spirits. Satan is portrayed in language almost wholly figurative.[4]

We have seen above how, from the beginning of the second century onwards, first in the Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, and later (or it may be at the same time) in the Rabbinical literature, the belief was gradually developed that Satan is the prince of evil powers, the head of the kingdom of evil, and the inveterate foe of God and man. This conception, which is not found in the Old Testament, prevails in the New Testament, and

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1 Op. cit., pp 23ff.

2 Cf. *Belief in God*, (1921); *Belief in Christ* (1922); *The Holy Spirit and the Church*, (1924).

3 *The Holy Spirit and the Church*, p. 23. 4 Op. cit., p. 90.

in all later Christian literature until the modern period. In the later centuries, and particularly during the Middle Ages, Satan is generally regarded as the instigator of every kind of sin, and the originator of most forms of evil. A few notable exceptions have been indicated. Origen, for example, pointed out that some sins spring from the constitution of our nature; for instance, those that arise from the desire for food, and from the instinct of sex. In these respects, he says, it is possible for persons to do wrong without any incitement from the Devil. Nevertheless, these natural instincts are occasions utilized by the Devil and the demons.[1] Similar observations were made later from time to time.[2]

At the period at which we have now arrived nothing is more significant than the fact that the whole question of sin and evil in man and in the world is often discussed without any reference being made to the existence and activities of Satan and the demons. Satan is now frequently regarded as an irrelevant conception. Sometimes he is simply ignored; at other times he is mentioned only to be rejected, as having no real significance for the problems under consideration.

In illustration of this attitude, we may cite Dr. A. S. Peake's very fine book, *Christianity: Its Nature and Truth* (1908. 7th impression 1909). One of its most suggestive chapters deals with sin, particularly with the Pauline conception of its origin and propagation. In considering the difficulty of accounting for a first sin occurring at all if, in accordance with the common view, man was made a sinless being, the writer points out that we are in no better position if we assume that temptation came from without. The assumption increases rather than mitigates the difficulty; for now we have two problems to solve instead of one. If we take back the origin of human sin to the solicitations of a supernatural power, we have, first of all, to account for the evil qualities of the tempter, who is also a creature of God. The problem is not solved; it is simply pushed a stage further back. Then there is the additional problem how an external solicitation can have met with a response in a sinless being. If sin came from without, there must have been some element in man to which it appealed.[3] The above is practically the only reference to Satan in this lucid exposition of the nature and truth of Christianity.

Similarly, in Dr. James Orr's work, *Sin as a Problem of To-day* (1910) practically the only reference to Satan is confined to a footnote. This simply states that the question of superhuman evil, with which the sin of man is implicated in origin and development, is left untouched in his pages, as being aside from the main purport of the discussion. The reality of such evil, however, is not doubted. Reference is then made to the following passages: Matt. xii. 25-29; John xiv 30; 2 Cor. iv. 3f; Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 11f.). But this affirmation of belief in the existence and activities of Satan and the demons does not prevent the author from discussing the problem of sin in all its bearings as though these supernatural evil powers did not exist, or at least as if they had no bearing upon the serious questions under discussion. Though criticizing the view that sin is simply due to the inherited brute qualities of man's animal ancestry, the writer conducts his argument without reference to

1 See above, p. 53. 2 See above, p. 70, on Aquinas, & p. 108, on Dorner.
3 Op. cit., p. 126.

the Devil or to demonic agency. He finds the origin of sin in the abuse of man's free will.

These remarks are not made in criticism of the method of treatment of their subject by the above-named writers. We are simply calling attention to facts which indicate a vast change in theological conceptions. Only a few centuries ago Satan and the demons were thought to be ubiquitous; to-day they have all but disappeared from the mental horizon of many serious students of the moral and spiritual life.

It should not, however, be supposed that the question of the existence and activity of Satan and evil spirits, though left so largely in abeyance at the present time, is regarded as having been finally disposed of. Many theologians decline to be dogmatic either way. Occasionally attempts are still made to find room for the conception of Satan in the frame-work of modern thought. Dr. T. B. Strong, for example, in his *Manual of Theology* (2nd Ed., 1913) points out that in nature as well as in the life of man there are signs of a wrong influence at work which amounts to positive evil. To attribute this to God, he says, would be profane. On the other hand, it cannot be due to the action of man. A third possibility remains, namely, that it may be due to the fact that an evil spirit is at work in the world, as well as in the secret chambers of the heart, to whom some of the evil in nature is due. This supposition has the authority of Scripture upon its side, as well as a large body of human belief. The whole subject is mysterious and obscure; but the question of the existence of the Evil One, and of those spirits which follow his lead, is one which cannot be settled by our senses; it must depend upon the exercise of those powers in us which enable us to distinguish physical and moral evil.

If these contentions are valid, Dr. Strong thinks it would follow that in ascribing certain ailments to the direct agency of evil spirits, and in revealing the history of His own temptation, our Lord should not be regarded simply as adopting current phraseology, but as really exercising His own moral insight.[1]

In his valuable article "Satan" in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible,* vol. iv. p. 411f. (1902) Dr. Owen C. Whitehouse severely criticises Beyschlag's attempt to deny the inference to which the Synoptic narrative leads us, that Jesus accepted a belief in a personal Satan. He holds that there can be no scientific Christology which does not recognize that Christ's humanity was so genuine and complete that He shared in the cosmic presuppositions of His time. His Deity was veiled and limited during His earthly ministry by the conditions which He voluntarily assumed in His *kenosis* (Phil. ii. 7). Now demonology was a necessary part of the intellectual apparatus of that period.

He affirms, however, that the ultimate truth of angelology and demonology has not and never can be destroyed by the march of modern science. Behind and beyond the physical nexus of inter-relations, he says, must lie *personality* and also *personalities*. That a supreme transcendent and personal reason and will is ever present and potent in the entire realm of being is a necessary postulate of any intelligible universe. The assumption that other superhuman as well as subordinate agencies are at work, and that some of these are embodiments of evil influence, he affirms, adds no fundamental difficulty to those which already exist. The supposition that superhuman personalities may be

1 Op. cit., p. 128.

foci of evil moral energy adds no problem to those which are already involved in the problem of moral evil.

Dr. Maldwyn Hughes, in his *Christian Foundations* (1927, 6th Ed., 1942), remarks that in recent years the belief in Satan has fallen into the background of Christian teaching. Many theologians, he says, are opposed to it on the ground that it introduces an ultimate dualism into the universe. He denies that this is the case, unless the divine attributes of omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience are ascribed to Satan. "The existence of a demonic intelligence no more necessarily implies dualism than does the existence of a sinful man."[1] Granted, however, that this is the case, it is obvious that there is a vast difference between belief in a sinful man, and belief in a supernatural evil personality, which is commonly held to direct and to control all the forces of evil throughout the world. Such a conception seems to imply a belief at least in his omnipresence and omniscience. It has been usual to speak of Satan as influencing every individual. It is this attribution of a quasi-omnipresence, at least, to a being less than God that the modern mind finds so difficult to comprehend. This difficulty does not attach itself to the belief in any number of lesser spirits, whether good or evil.

The consideration urged by Dr. Hughes does not seem to have been effective in gaining support for the belief in Satan. The most recent text-book for Lay Preachers in the Methodist Church omits all reference to a doctrine of Satan.[2]

Dr. J. S. Whale, in his *Christian Doctrine* (1941) makes only a brief reference to our subject. He suggests that psychology confirms the witness of the new Testament, that humanity is subject to a possession or infection of evil from which no man can dissociate himself. The New Testament describes this in terms of demonic powers. The personification of evil as Satan, though it is a difficult conception, stands for the fact of the spiritual solidarity in evil which will not be evaded or ignored. Whatever images of thought we may employ, there exists in the world of our experience a kingdom of evil by which the evil acts of each individual are inspired, sustained and reinforced.[3]

With such a sober representation of the doctrine of Satan there is likely to be a general agreement.

We may conclude our survey of the age-long belief in Satan by referring to Dr. A. E. Garvie's statement in the 11th Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (vol. viii), article "Devil," published in 1910. After briefly recalling the various views of Satan which have been put forth in the course of the later centuries, such as those of Dorner, Semler, Kant, Daub, Schelling and Martensen, he sums up by saying that interesting as these speculations are, "it may be confidently affirmed that belief in Satan is not now generally regarded as an essential article of the Christian faith, nor is it found to be an indispensable element of Christian experience. On the one hand, science has so explained many of the processes of outer nature and of the inner life of man as to leave no room for Satanic agency. On the other hand, the modern view of the inspiration of the Scriptures does not necessitate the acceptance of the doctrine of the Scriptures on this subject as finally and absolutely authoritative."

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1 Cf. Op. cit., p. 103f. 2 Cf. Farley, *The Faith*, (1938), 2nd impression 1941.
3 Op. cit., p. 47.

Dr. Garvie thinks that the teaching of Jesus may be accounted for as either an accommodation to the views of those with whom He was dealing, or, more probably, as a proof of the limitation of knowledge which was a necessary condition of the Incarnation. It cannot be concluded, he says, that as the revealer of God and redeemer of man it was imperative that He should either correct or confirm men's beliefs in this respect. "The possibility of the existence of evil spirits, organized under one leader Satan to tempt man and to oppose God, cannot be denied; the sufficiency of the evidence of such evil agency may, however, be doubted; the necessity of any such belief for Christian thought and life cannot, therefore, be affirmed."

CHAPTER XIV

The Return of Satan

THE PRECEDING PAGES HAVE SHOWN HOW SATAN, SOME QUARTER OF A CENTURY ago, was extruded from the circle of major theological conceptions. Some scholars bade him adieu with caution and hesitation, as if they were not quite sure that he was the insignificant reality that he was represented to be by the contemporary fashion in scientific, theological and philosophical thought. Other scholars expelled him from their system of belief dogmatically and unceremoniously. They shut the door upon him with a bang, and locked and barred it. Satan, they had concluded, was a relic of ancient superstition. He had forever faded out of existence under the strong clear light of reason and commonsense. The simple fact is, they said, that man is born of an animal stock. On the one side of his nature he is closely related to the ape, the wolf and the tiger. And though he has travelled far along the upward way towards the goal of evolution, he still retains certain of his animal characteristics. It is along this line that the unpleasing features of his life—greed, selfishness and cruelty—are to be explained. These are simply animal propensities which have not yet been humanized and socialized. And under the stimulus of certain conditions they are apt to manifest themselves in a barbaric fashion. Nevertheless, the time will come when, under the influence of the forces of civilisation—of education, culture, increasing knowledge—man will gradually leave behind the ape, the tiger and the wolf, and at long last we shall behold the perfect man. In the meantime every generation gets better and better.

Alas that our hasty generalisations upon the deep mystery of human nature should be so rudely shattered by the events of history. Is it now such an obvious fact that the generation which planned and carried through the war of 1914-1918 was so much better than the generations which preceded it? And what shall we say of the cold-blooded revelling in monstrous cruelty and shame of the generation which followed that war, and which planned an even fiercer and fouler attack upon all the higher values of life that have been achieved only by the blood and tears of many generations? What shall we say of the mass persecutions of the Jews which have no parallel in history? Or of the indescribable sufferings of tens of thousands of people, who were

sent to fill prisons and concentration camps, not on account of crimes committed, but simply because they opposed the determined attempts of those in power to destroy the best things known to man? It is indisputable that never before has the fiendish ingenuity of wicked men devised on so colossal a scale the means of exterminating the good in man and in the world as this which we have witnessed with our own eyes.

There are many people to-day who, shocked by this exhibition of wanton cruelty, seriously doubt whether it is a sufficient explanation of moral and spiritual evil to say that it is simply due to the animal strain in human nature: to the fact that the ape, the wolf and the tiger have for the moment gained the upper hand, and escaped from the control of the higher forces which should govern the life of man. There is a malignancy of disposition, and a wanton revelling in wickedness, that do not, they think, belong to the animal world. It has to be remembered that, unlike the wild animals, man has for centuries been subjected to powerful civilising agencies. He has been lifted up to great heights from which he has obtained visions of human possibilities never glimpsed by the lower orders of creation. On any theory, it has to be admitted that man is not merely a creature of instinct and impulse, like the beast of the field. He is a creature with a conscience, a rational being, endowed with the power of looking before and after, of weighing consequences, and of learning the lessons of history. There is a spiritual side to his nature which links him with the higher powers, and distinguishes him from the animal world. Rapacious animals when in the pursuit of prey, we must suppose, simply follow the bent of their nature. This cannot be said of those men who, on such a vast scale, have perpetrated the horrors that have shocked the world. These have done violence to their true natures. Having had the opportunity to avail themselves of the learning of the schools and universities, and to become acquainted with the moral and spiritual gains of the centuries, they have deliberately rejected them, and said, "Evil, be thou my good."

In view of these and similar facts many serious-minded students of events have resumed the use of ancient modes of speech and speak of the "demonic forces" which are abroad in the world to-day. Sometimes such language may be only a manner of speech, a relic of ancient modes of thought. At other times, however, the writers in question appear to be genuinely staggered and puzzled by the monstrous character of the evil forces which are at work before their eyes. These appear to be inhuman or subhuman, and to have their origin outside of what may properly be called human nature. They do not seem to be traceable to the fleshly or animal nature of man, but belong rather to the realm of the spirit. In some of the more influential evil personalities, whose doings have shocked the world, spiritual force has dominated their lives and preserved them from indulgence in the coarser forms of animalism. It is the fact of such apparently subhuman or superhuman aspects of evil which has led many students of contemporary history to speak of "demonic" forces of evil. Such language can only be fully justified by a belief in evil spirits—Satan and the demons—which influence the lives of men.

One famous philosopher, Dr. Joad, has been so impressed by the reality and obtrusiveness of evil in the modern world that he has written a book, entitled, *God and Evil.* In this, and in other works, he has explained how the manifest reality of evil has led him to re-think the arguments for the reality of the existence of God, concerning which for thirty years he had been an

agnostic. The power of evil now seems to him to be so intensely real that only God can deliver man from its entanglement. For a long time he had shared the common view of evil as being the result of economic circumstances, such as poverty, bad education, poor housing conditions. Change the conditions of life, it was urged, and evil will be eliminated. This view Joad now repudiates. Evil, he declares, has its home in the heart of man, which is desperately wicked, and only a spiritual power can deliver us from it. Thus from the reality of evil Dr. Joad argues the reality of God.

We are not now concerned with the character of the God in whom Dr. Joad has come to believe. In relation to our subject, however, it is interesting to observe that he feels led towards the conclusion that there is a world of values, real and eternal, which is other than, and outside of, the world of evolving life. He thinks it is plausible to believe that the values are the expressions of an underlying unity, and that, if such unity be granted, it is reasonable to suppose that it is that of a person, a person with whom human beings can make contact in religious and mystical experience.

By the same kind of argument, may it not be urged that evil too, the great antithesis of the values which Dr. Joad suggests inhere in a personal God, likewise possesses an underlying unity in a supersensible or spiritual world, and is the expression of a personal being or of personal beings? Such a conclusion would bring us near to the traditional conception of Satan and the demons.

It may at least be affirmed that in recent years there has been a tendency on the part of certain able students of human nature and of history to move away from the naturalistic hypothesis of the origin of evil. To many well-equipped scholars it does not seem sufficient to say that evil belongs to the animal part of man's nature. Having allowed for this factor in man's composite nature, it still remains to ask *why* the animal in man should at times become so suddenly dominant; and *why* should such higher creatures as men are everywhere allowed to be proceed to revel in such wanton cruelty and shame as far surpasses anything in the animal world?

We have seen that as men of old pondered over the facts of life they came to the conclusion that human nature had been invaded by malignant powers of evil. These sought to thwart God's purpose in the creation of the world. We have traced the history of these beliefs during many centuries. It has been shown how the religious imagination played about these evil powers and reached strange conclusions as to their origin, numbers and modes of operation. Many of these products of fancy became permanently enshrined in sacred books which later generations held to contain authoritative divine revelations. We get glimpses of such conceptions in the pages of both the Old and New Testaments. There are still more in Jewish Rabbinical literature, and in numerous apocalyptical works. In the later literature of the Western Church, a prosaic literalising tendency often turned fantasy into fact, and affirmed that the vivid products of dreamers and visionaries were sober realities which men must accept or suffer condemnation as heretics.

Again, during the monastic period, as half-starved lonely men, separated from the normal relationships of life, pondered over these spiritual "realities," the latter took on strange material forms, such as at that time were popularly believed to exist in the natural world. They averred that they saw these forms, heard them speak, and wrestled with them by day and night. Vivid imaginations, illusions of the senses, hallucinations—these were often mistaken

for visible apparitions of evil powers, that is, for Satan and the brood of demons.

It is easy for us to-day, after many centuries of progress in scientific, and especially in psychological study, to make merry over the blunders made by our forefathers, in confusing mental creations with spiritual or material realities. But if we, from our later standpoint, fail to make allowances for time, place and circumstance in judging of the beliefs of past years, we are guilty of a psychological anachronism—an offence as reprehensible as any deficiency of judgement in those whom we presume to judge.

The fact remains that the greatest minds of the human race have asserted that the life of man is under the influence of good and evil spirits. We are here concerned only with the powers of evil. The beliefs in question were mainly based upon experience and observation; though the religious imagination would also be responsible for many developments.

Now we may feel ourselves to be entirely free to discard the thought-forms of former ages, and to accept such psychological explanations as appear to us to account satisfactorily for experiences and supposed events which were explained very differently by peoples in former ages. But we must beware of slurring over the fundamental facts of life, and of accepting superficial explanations that do not really account for the deep mysteries of human life and history. Oversimplification is as real a peril to the theologian and philosopher as it is to the scientist.

Jesus, our greatest authority upon the spiritual world, certainly believed in Satan and the demons. The power of evil was to Him evidently a living reality. Let us allow that He adopted many current conceptions, and made use of the language of His day. But even so, have we any sufficient reason to dispute a belief that was so fundamental to His teaching as that of the existence of evil spiritual personalities which influence the lives of men? St. Paul, and all the early Christians, shared these beliefs. The greatest thinkers of the ages have maintained the same general views of man and of his relation to the spiritual world.

Conceptions as to the form and mode of operation of the spirit of evil have differed with the centuries. St. Paul pictures Satan as being responsible for the rise of "the man of sin" (2 Thess. ii. 3f.), and for the "mystery of lawlessness." According to the writer of the Book of Revelation it is the dragon (Satan) who inspires the worship of the crowned beast (Rev. xiii. 2f.). Dante portrays the spirit of evil as a serpent with six feet which seizes upon a man, and so closely intertwines himself with his victim that the two become indistinguishable: "Each melted into other, mingling hues, that each was either now was seen no more" (*Vision of Hell*, Canto xxv). In Milton again the conception of Satan is very different. He appears as a rebel angel who becomes king of the nether regions. He plots against the newly-created race of man, and sends forth his evil angels to do his bidding. The traditional view of the Christian world has been largely moulded under the influence of Milton's majestic conception.

The common factor in all these conceptions is the assumption that the lives of men are influenced by a power or powers of evil from which they need to be redeemed.

Have we any real alternative to these convictions and beliefs? How are we to explain the fact of moral and spiritual evil? It must ever be remembered that in dealing with men we are not dealing with animals, whether tamed

or untamed. We are dealing with spiritual beings which, by a very general agreement, stand in a class by themselves. To call attention to their animal characteristics is but to indicate the less important aspects of their lives. It is the *plus* of human nature that is of supreme importance in the long career of the human race. Those who suggest a spiritual origin for sin and evil are not importing needless mystery into the life of man or into the history of the human race. On any view of human nature (if all facts are considered) mystery abounds. If man began as an animal, why did he not continue to exist upon the animal plane? Why and how did he come to diverge? What prompted or inspired him to begin the upward march which has led him so far from the place of origin? At every step of man's career we are confronted with mystery. The sublime intellectual eminence of the ancient Greeks is a mystery. The profound moral consciousness of the early Hebrews is likewise a mystery. With all our progress in the knowledge of the universe we seem to be as far as ever from eliminating the element of mystery from the life of man. To abolish Satan and the brood of evil spirits from the circle of our beliefs is not to get rid of mystery. The profoundest mystery remains, dark and inscrutable. In emphasizing this fact we are not attempting to rehabilitate the traditional conception of Satan: we ask only for a frank recognition of existing facts.

Whatever answers may eventually be given to these questions as to the nature of the power of evil which has wrought so much havoc in the life of man, and which has produced the only really tragic element in human history, no reasonable doubt can remain as to the nature of the means by which the race of man must be delivered from the thraldom of evil. A remedy must be applied which touches directly the spirit of man. It is not sufficient to tutor the minds of men in schools and colleges. Whatever can be said in praise of knowledge and of progress in scientific ideas, these in themselves can never save man from the dominance of those evil desires and impulses which throughout all the centuries have been mainly responsible for the woes and crimes of men. If man is spiritually evil, inspired by false ambitions, education may serve only to make him the more dangerous to society, and the more able to work evil in the lives of his fellows. Never were these truths more powerfully emphasized than by the tragic events of the years through which we ourselves have lived.

Jesus came forth from the unseen world to conquer the power of evil, "to destroy," says the apostle John, "the works of the devil." Our fathers painted St. George, the patron saint of England, as going forth to war against the dragon of evil. So did the early Christian writers picture the Son of God as coming forth from the invisible world to war against "the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan" (Rev. xx. 2); in other words, against the power of evil in all its manifold forms. And during all the ages Jesus has shown His power to conquer evil by imparting to men a new spirit, His own spirit, of love, sympathy and kindliness; the spirit of enthusiastic obedience to the will of God, and of passionate resolve to spend and to be spent in the establishment of the reign of God in the lives of men. It is only thus that the final conquest of the power of evil can be achieved.

THE END

INDEX

I. NAMES AND SUBJECTS

Abaddon, 39
Abbot Richalm, 73
Abyss, the, 30, 57
Accommodation, theories of, 31, 97, 99, 104, 108, 111, 114, 118
Ages, the two, 36, 43
Albertus Magnus, 69f.
Alukah, the, 21
Ambrose of Milan, 58f.
Angel of Death, the, 12, 17, 37, 98
Angels, fall of, 11, 14, 46, 48f., 52
Angels, sons of God, 14
Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) and Satan, 23 ff., 43
Anselm, St., 65f., 72
Antichrist, antichrists, 34, 36, 86
Antony, St., 60f.
Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature, the, 11, 13ff.
Apollyon, 39
Apostolic Fathers, the, 45f.
Aquinas, Thomas, 69f.
Asmodaeus, the evil spirit, 29
Athenagoras, 47f.
Augustine, St., 61ff.
Avesta, the, 22f.
Azazel, 14f., 42, 52
Aza Dahaka, evil serpent, 43

Banks, J. S., 111
Barnabas, Epistle of, 45
Baxter, Richard, 92ff.
Beelzebub, 27, 53, 58
Behemoth, 39, 63
Beliar (Belial) 16f., 27, 34
Bernard, St., 66f.
Beyschlag, 111f.
Bundahesh, the, 24, 40

Calvin, John, 89ff.
Clarke, W.N., 113
Clement, Epistles of, 45
Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, 48
Chrysostom, 59
Cyprian, 55
Cyril of Jerusalem, 58

Deber, the, 21,
Demons, activities of, 46ff., 54ff., 61ff., 73ff.
Demons, aerial, 18, 33ff., 48ff., 54, 57f., 62f., 66ff., 69
Demons and Devil, forms of, 54, 57, 60f., 62, 70, 73, 77ff., 88f., 91f., 105
Demons, materialised, 60f., 62, 72f., 74f., 80f., 91f.
Demons, nature of, 47, 51f., 54, 57, 60, 62
Demons, origin of, 46, 49, 57
Demon possession, 29, 30, 60f.
Denney, James, 113
Devil, the (*see* "Satan")
Devil's Mark, the, 80
Dorner, J.A., 108f.
Dragon, the, 39ff., 41, 63
Dreams, 46
Dualism, 22, 107, 117

Eusebius, 56ff.
Evil, personification of, 99, 111
Excommunication, 36
Exorcism, 27, 46f., 50, 54, 56, 58ff.

Fall of man, the, 11f.
Familiars, Witches', 78

Garvie, A.E., 117f.
Gore, Bishop, 113f.
Gregory the Great, 63f.

Hall, Bishop, 91f.
Hallucinations, 88
He-goats, 21, 82
Henotheism, 25
Hermas, Shepherd, of, 45
Hughes, H.M., 117

Idolatry, 46, 48, 51
Ignatius, Epistles of, 45
Incubi and *Succubi*, 61, 77
Irenæus, 48f.
Isidore of Seville, 64

Jerome, St., 60f.
John of Damascus, 64
Just in Martyr, 46

Kaftan, J., 112
Keteb, the, 21

Leviathan, 39, 63
Levitations, 83f.
Lilith (night-monster), 21
Lombard, Peter, 67ff.
Lucifer, 52, 67f., 69, 94
Luther, Martin, 86ff.
Lycanthropy, 81

Magic, 46, 49, 54, 63, 76ff., 87
Manichæism, 84, 99, 102
Martensen, H., 100ff.
Mastema, 15ff., 42
Mastema, class of, 15f.
Messianic kingdom, the, 43
Michael, the archangel, 15, 39f., 90
Millennium, the, 42f.
Modern Spiritualism, 86, 92
Monotheism, 24f.

Necromancer, necromancy, 50, 63, 86, 87, 93
Nephilim, the, 14

Obsessions, 86
Origen, 52ff., 115
Orr, J., 115

Papias, 45
Peake, A. S., 115f.
Persian influence, 21f.
Philo, 33
Pilgrim's Progress, the, 39
Plato, 33
Plutarch, 33, 57
Polycarp, Epistles of, 45
Polytheism, 25
Pope, W. B., 111
Porphyry, 57
Possession, 27, 46, 56 (*see* also "Exorcism")
Pseudepigrapha, the, 13

Rabbinical literature, the, 10f.
Ransom theory of Atonement, the, 72, 111
Raphael, the archangel, 15
Reformation and the belief in Satan, 84ff.
Reuss, E., 106
Réville, A., 104f.
Roman Catholic belief in Satan, 85f.
Roskoff, G., 104

Sammael, 6, 17, 37
Satan, activities of, 11f., 49, 55ff., 70f., 95f.
Satan, angel-minister of God, 1ff., 11f.
Satan, Angel of Death, the, 12, 24, 98
Satan, author of sin, the, 30, 53, 58, 70, 104, 108, 112, 115
Satan, casting down of, 17f., 52
Satan, chief of evil spirits, 15ff., 47ff.
Satan, conceived as a necessary principle, 100ff.
Satan, fall of, 11ff., 52f., 57, 61ff., 69f., 89, 94
Satan, final destruction of, 12, 29, 43, 61, 65
Satan, forms of (*see* "demons")
Satan, god of the witches, 79f.
Satan, origin of, 11, 47, 48, 57
Satan, personality of, 85, 90f., 96ff., 102ff., 107
Satan, relation of, to Ahriman, 23ff.
Satan, salvation of, 48, 52
Satan, transformations of, 20f., 34f., 70, 76f., 81f.
Satanail, 17
Satans, class of, 11, 15f., 18
Schelling, 99f.
Schleiermacher, 97f.
Schmid, C. F., 107f.
Se'irim (Satyrs), the, 21, 82
Semjaza and Azazel, 14f.
Serpent, the, 21, 24, 35, 39, 47, 52
Shedim, the, 21
Sons of God, the angelic, 14
Sorcerer, sorcery, 32, 76, 85 (*see also* "Witchcraft")
Stevens, G. B., 114
Strong, T. B., 116

Talmud, the, 11ff.
Tatian, 47
Tertullian, 49
Theophilus of Antioch, 47

Vendidad, the Persian, 23

Wesley, John, 93f.
Whale, J. S., 117
Whitehouse, O. C., 116
Witches' compact with Satan, 80
Witches, imps and Familiars, 78f.
Witches' Sabbat, 80f.
Witches, transportation of, 82f.
Witchcraft, 75ff., 87f., 93f., 95, 105f.
World-rulers, spiritual, 34

Yetzer ha-Ra, the, 12

Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism, 22f., 43, 99

II. PASSAGES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT

GENESIS

	PAGE
ii. 7	12
iii. 1ff.	19, 113
vi. 1ff.	14, 19, 61
viii. 21	12
xxii. 1ff.	11, 15

EXODUS

iv. 24	15

LEVITICUS

xvi. 1ff.	15

NUMBERS

xxii. 22	10

DEUTERONOMY

xiii. 13	16, 17
xxxii. 17	21

JUDGES

xix. 22	16

1 SAMUEL

ii. 12	16
xxix. 4	10

2 SAMUEL

xix. 22	10
xxiv. 1	10, 15

1 KINGS

v. 4	10
xi. 14, 23	10

2 KINGS

i. 2, 6, 16	27

1 CHRONICLES

xxi. 1	10, 15

2 CHRONICLES

xi. 15	21

JOB

i. ii.	9, 25
i. 6ff.	19
i. 12f.	36
xxvi. 12	39
xl. 15ff.	39
xli. 1	39

PSALMS

xxii. 13	38
lxxiv. 13f.	39f.
lxxxix. 10	39
xci. 5	21
cvi. 37	21
cix. 6	10

PROVERBS

xxx. 15	21

ISAIAH

xiii. 21	21
xiv. 12	52, 67, 69
xxvii. 1	39
xxxiv. 14	21
xliv. 28	22
xlv. 1ff.	22
li. 9	39

EZEKIEL

i. 5ff.	11
xxviii. 11ff.	52, 58
xxix. 3ff.	39

DANIEL

vii. 24	40
x. 13, 21	40
xii. 1	40

HOSEA

ix. 7f.	16

AMOS

ix. 3	39

ZECHARIAH

iii. 1	9, 25

III. PASSAGES FROM THE RABBINICAL LITERATURE

(A) THE TARGUMS

THE TARGUM OF JERUSALEM

	PAGE
To Gen. iii. 1	12
To Gen. xxii.	12

(B) THE TALMUD

	PAGE
T.B. Abudah Zarah 20b	12
T.B. Baba Bathra 16a	12
T.B. Baba Bathra 17a	12
T.B. Baba Bathra 75a	12
T.B. Baba Bathra 86a	12
T.B. Berachoth 61a	12
T.B. Ebel Rabbathi iii.	12
T.B. Kiddushim 29b	40
T.B. Sanhedrin 64a	12, 38
T.B. Sanhedrin 89b	12
T.B. Succah 52a	12
T.B. Yomah 69b	38

PIRKÊ DE RABBI ELIEZER

xiii.	37
xxxii.	12

YALKUT JESAJ

	PAGE
359	12

(C) THE MIDRASHIM

BERESHITH RABBAH

	PAGE
ix.	12
xvii.	11
xix.	37
xxii.	12

BEMIDBAR RABBAH

	PAGE
xx...	12

DEBARIM RABBAH

	PAGE
xi...	11f.

IV. PASSAGES FROM THE APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE. TESTAMENTS

ECCLESIASTICUS

	PAGE
xxi. 2	38
xxi. 27	100

TOBIT

	PAGE
iii. 8, 17	29
vi. 16	29
viii. 3	29

1 ENOCH

	PAGE
viii. 1ff.	15
x. 4-8	15, 42
x. 11ff.	15, 42
xix. 1	30
xxi. 6	42
xl. 7	19
liii. 3	19
liv. 6	16, 19
lxv. 6	19
lxix. 4	19
lxix. 6	19
xc. 21f., 24	30, 40

JUBILEES

	PAGE
i. 20	16
x. 5	15
x. 8ff.	18
x. 11	18
xi. 11f.	42
xv. 33	16
xviii. 9ff.	15
xxiii. 29	18
xl. 9	18
xlvi. 2	18
xlviii. 2	15
xlviii. 9, 12, 15f.	16, 42
xlix. 2	16
l. 5	18

TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

ASHER

	PAGE
vi. 4	19

BENJAMIN

	PAGE
v. 2	38

DAN

	PAGE
i. 7	16
iii. 6	19
iv. 7	16
v. 6	19
vi. 1	19

GAD

	PAGE
iv. 7	19
v. 2	19

ISSACHAR

	PAGE
vi. 1	16
vii. 7	16, 38

JUDAH

	PAGE
xix. 4	16
xxv. 3	18, 30, 44

LEVI

	PAGE
xviii. 12	16, 42

NAPHTALI

	PAGE
viii. 4	19, 38
viii. 6	19

SIMEON

	PAGE
ii. 7	16
iii. 4	37

ZEBULUN

	PAGE
ix. 8	16

SIBYLLINE ORACLES

Book iii.

	PAGE
lines 63, 67	16
lines 71, 74	34
lines 73	30, 44

PSALMS OF SOLOMON

	PAGE
i. xvi.	43

THE BOOK OF WISDOM

	PAGE
ii. 24	19f., 31

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

	PAGE
vi. 9f.	16
vii. 19	16
ix. 2	16
xiv. 5	16
xx. 2	16

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

	PAGE
x. 1	20

2 ENOCH OR THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

vii. 1ff.	42
vii. 3	17
xviii. 1ff.	17
xxix. 4	18, 33
xxxi. 3-6	18, 20
xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2	43

THE MARTYDOM OF ISAIAH

i. 8	17
ii. 1f.	17
ii. 4	17, 31, 34
ii. 7	20
iii. 11	17

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

xi. 41	17

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

i.ff.	37

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

xiv.	42
xxiii.	20
xxxi.	39

2 (4) ESDRAS

iv. 26f.	37
vi. 20	37
vii. 12ff.	37
vii. 28ff.	43

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

LATIN VITA

ix. 1	21, 35
xii. 1ff.	40
xvi. 4	20
xxxiii. 1	20

SLAVONIC VITA

xxviii. 1	21
xxxiii-xxxv.	20
xxxviii. 1	21, 35

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS

vii.	20
xvi. 1ff.	21, 35
xvii.-xxi.	21, 29

3 BARUCH

iv. 8	17, 20
ix. 7	17, 20

V. PASSAGES FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT

MATTHEW

	PAGE
iv. 1-11	28
iv. 8	31
iv. 10	29
v. 37	29
vi. 13	29
ix. 34	27
x. 25	27
xi. 18	30
xii. 24	27
xiii. 19	28, 112
xiii. 24-30	28
xiii. 39	28
xvi. 23	29
xvi. 27	112
xxv. 41	29, 62, 68

MARK

i. 13	28
iii. 22	27
iv. 15	28
vii. 21	104
viii. 33	29
xiii. 32	31

LUKE

	PAGE
iv. 2-13	28
iv. 6	31
vii. 21	30
vii. 33	30
viii. 2	30
viii. 12	28
viii. 31	30
x. 18	29, 52
xi. 15	27
xii. 8	112
xiii. 11ff.	29
xv. 10	112
xxii. 3	29
xxii. 31	29

JOHN

vi. 70	30
vii. 20	30
viii. 44	30
viii. 48, 52	30
x. 20	30
xii. 31	31, 34, 67
xiii. 2, 27	30, 32

JOHN

	PAGE
xiv. 30	31, 34
xvi. 11	31, 34

THE ACTS

v. 1ff.	32
v. 15ff.	32
viii. 7	32
x. 38	32
xiii. 10	32
xvi. 16ff.	32, 86
xvii. 9	34
xix. 13ff.	32
xxiii. 8	114
xxvi. 18	33

ROMANS

v. 12ff.	20, 37, 108
xii. 2	37
xvi. 20	35

1 CORINTHIANS

i. 20	37
v. 1ff.	36, 59
vii. 5	34
viii. 4	53
x. 19	53
xii. 2	59

2 CORINTHIANS

ii. 11	34
iv. 4	36
vi. 14	34
vi. 15	27
xi. 3f.	35
xi. 14	34, 80
xii. 7	35, 90

GALATIANS

iv. 14	35

EPHESIANS

ii. 2	18, 31, 33, 62
iv. 27	35
vi. 12ff.	18, 31, 33, 62

PHILIPPIANS

ii. 7	116

1 THESSALONIANS

ii. 18	34
iii. 5	34

2 THESSALONIANS

ii. 3-8	35
ii. 9	35
iii. 3	34

1 TIMOTHY

	PAGE
i. 20	36
iii. 6	35
v. 14	35

2 TIMOTHY

ii. 26	35
iii. 8	16
iv. 17	38

HEBREWS

ii. 14	36f., 99

JAMES

i. 13	108
iv. 7	19, 37

1 PETER

i. 5, 13	36
iii. 19	68
iv. 6	68
v. 8	38

2 PETER

ii. 4	68, 85
ii. 10f.	100

1 JOHN

ii.13	38
iii. 8	31, 38
iii. 10f.	38
iii. 12	19
v. 18f.	36, 38, 52

JUDE

verse 9	20

REVELATION

ii. 19ff.	41
ii. 13	41
ii. 24	41
iii. 9	41
iv. 6ff.	11
ix. 1ff.	74
ix. 11	39
xii. 3	39, 67
xii. 4	40
xii. 7	39
xii. 9	39, 42
xii. 12	36, 39
xiii. 1	40
xiii. 11ff.	41
xvi. 2	80
xvii. 7ff.	41
xx. 1ff.	12, 15, 42, 68
xx. 7f.	42, 68, 74
xx. 9	42
xx. 10	44

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